A COMPARISON BETWEEN Old ROME In its GLORY, As to the tent and Populouſneſs, AND LONDON As it is at Preſent.

By a Perſon of Quality, a Native of FRANCE.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

To the Right Honourable

Robert Harley, Esq;

One of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

SIR,

I *Humbly beg Leave to present to Your Honour this Comparison of* London *in its Extent and Populousness, with the Ancient City of* Rome *in all its Glory. I presumed some Years since to present Your Honour with an Essay upon the Extent of both, designing to enlarge upon it, and compare them together in their Populousness and Wealth. But the great Infirmities and Hardships I had to struggle with, have not only retarded my Performance, but also obliged me to bring it into a narrower Compass than I had first proposed to my self. For I intended to add several other Heads to it,* viz. *A Comparison of the Riches and Beauty of An-*

cient Rome *with the Riches and Beauty of* London *as it is at preſent; beſides a great many Obſervations on the Power, Wealth and Populouſneſs of the* Roman *Empire. Which would make it plain to the World, how groſs is the Miſtake of* Lipſius, Voſſius, *and all the Ancient and Modern Authors, who have writ upon that Subject. But I muſt refer it to another Time, if God pleaſe to preſerve my Life, and enable me to perfect it.*

Your Honour being a Perſon of refined Judgment and great Eruditi-on, may perhaps find this Work defective in ſeveral Reſpects. But I hope you will indulge and favour an Author who has endeavour'd to make good a Paradox ſo Glorious to London; *the rather, becauſe Your moſt Worthy Father, Sir* Edward Harley, *for whoſe Memory all good Men, who had the Honour to know him, ought to have a Veneration, was pleaſed earneſtly to Recommend me to Your Care particularly.*

Sir, I ſhould think it a Treſpaſs in me, not to imbrace this Opportunity of informing the Publick, That there is in France *a moſt Ancient and Noble Family*

Family of Your Name, counted (next to Dukes) among the moſt Illuſtrious in that Kingdom. They originally came out of England, *being deſcended from a younger Brother of Your Anceſtors,* viz. *that* Harley *who went over to* France *to attend* Robert *Duke of* Normandy *in the Holy Wars, whoſe Off-ſpring came to be related to the Family of Monſieur Du* Pleſſis Mornay. *They have born the higheſt Dignities in* France, *both in Church and State, and are generally look'd upon as the* Mecenas's *of Diſtreſſed Scholars, which raiſes very much their Eſteem in that Kingdom. The Firſt Plenipotentiary of* France *at the Treaty of* Reſwick, *and one of the Principal Counſellors of State, was a* Harley. *The late Arch-Biſhop of* Paris, *who was a Duke, and was ſucceeded in that Church-Dignity by the Cardinal* de Noailles, *was likewiſe a* Harley. *And ſo is now the Firſt Preſident of the Parliament of* Paris, *who keeps the Rank of a Duke by his Office; and who, before he attained to that Dignity, was Attorney-General in that Parliament, a Poſt valued formerly at Thirteen or Fourteen Hundred Thouſand Livers.*

I conclude with my hearty Wiſhes, That as Your Honour excels 'em all in the true Knowledge and Worſhip of God, and hath the Advantage of being deſcended from the Eldeſt Branch of the Family; ſo You may ſurpaſs them all in the Poſſeſſion of the Higheſt Dignities, and the Noble Office of a Generous Mecenas *to ſuch Perſons as having deſerved well from the Publick, are left to ſink under the greateſt Preſſures. I am, with a profound Reſpect,*

SIR,

Your HONOUR's

Moſt Humble and

moſt Obedient Servant,

De Souligné.

A COMPARISON BETWEEN ROME In its GLORY, AND LONDON As it is at Preſent.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Extent of the Two Cities, their Bounds, &c. *againſt* Lipſius, Voſſius, *&c.*

WE ſhall begin with the Extent of theſe Two Famous Cities, and therein firſt prove, againſt almoſt the whole

Tribe of ancient and later Criticks and Antiquaries, more eſpecially thoſe Two Celebrated Modern ones, *Lipſius* and *Voſſius*, and all their Adherers and Followers, (who pretend that Old *Rome* was a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles in Circumference) That Ancient *Rome* had but the ſame Compaſs which it now hath, and that the Walls of New *Rome* are the ſame, or built upon the ſelf-ſame Foundations which they had in the Time of the Emperor *Aurelian*, when all the World owns *Rome* to have been largeſt and greateſt, or at leaſt that no conſiderable Alterations or Additions were given its Dimenſions ſince that Time. And afterwards I ſhall ſhew the preſent Extent of the City of *London* to be of a much greater Compaſs about than ever the Dimenſions of Old *Rome* amounted to. And both theſe ſhall be demonſtrated by Arguments hitherto untouch'd by any.

Lipſ. *Roma illuſtrata, pag.* 181, & 182. Voſſ. *Obſervationes Variæ, pag.* 33.

To the preſent *Rome* there is at moſt but Thirteen Miles in Circumference allow'd, in which Compaſs are included all the Sinus's of the Walls, of which many conſiderable Parts

Parts ſtretch out much more than others towards the Fields, and others towards the Body of the City, otherwiſe it would not perhaps be above Eight or Nine Miles in Circuit.

My Arguments to prove the Miſtakes of thoſe Authors, who held that Ancient *Rome* was greater than the Modern, are ſuch as follow.

I. New *Rome* has the ſame Number of Mounts or Hills as Old *Rome*, and they bear ſtill the ſame Names. Had *Rome* been as great as *Lipſius* and *Voſſius* make it, (a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles about) Mount *Soracte*, mention'd by *Horace*, as not much diſtant from *Rome*, and within View of it, had been Part of the City.

Vides ut alta ſtet nive candidum
Soracte, &c.

Beſides Mount *Soracte*, *Rome* would certainly have included many other Mounts, beſides the Seven and the Three little Hills mention'd in Hiſtory, upon which the City was then ſeated, as it now is. For 'tis obſerved, that not far from *Rome* there

are Hills or Mounts in ſeveral Places higher than thoſe of *Rome*, and Mount *Apennine* it ſelf muſt have been in the Middle of *Rome*, had that City been a Hundred or a Hundred and Twenty Miles about: The very *Adriatick* Sea muſt border upon it, for it is not Twenty *German* Miles from the Modern *Rome* (which undoubtedly ſtands in the ſame Place where the Ancient did) to the neareſt Part of that Sea.

Had the Ancient *Rome* been of that great Extent theſe Authors give it, *Ocriculum*, *Tibur*, *Oſtia*, and other Places, had been alſo Part of it, which are but One or Two ſhort Journies diſtant from Modern *Rome*; to which add *Aricia* alſo, which ſtood but a Hundred and Sixty Furlongs from *Rome*.

Tuſculum, *Tully*'s Country Houſe, is to this Day as far diſtant from *Rome* as it was of old; an Argument that *Rome* was of no greater Compaſs.

II. There's no Mention made in ancient Hiſtory of any *Forum Publicum* or *Civile*, *viz.* any Market-Place, or Seat of Juſtice, or other Meeting Place for the Senators and Magiſtrates, out of thoſe Bounds we ſpeak of;

of; which muſt have been, if *Rome* had been of ſo great an Extent. But Hiſtory tells us, they were all in that Part call'd *Pomærium Urbis*, which was of no farther Extent than the Walls of Modern *Rome*.

To this Day the very Places where thoſe *Fora Publica* or *Civilia* were built, are eaſily found out within the Walls of *Rome*, and there are ſeveral that are not yet wholly ruin'd. They were in all but Eighteen or Nineteen, whereof one half were Market-places, and the other Meeting-places for Publick Affairs: Their Names I ſhall give an Account of in another Place. Had the City been much bigger, their Number had been greater; we have many more ſuch Places in *London*, I mean Places for Publick or Civil Affairs, and Market-places: So that not only their Situation, but alſo their ſmall Number, ſhews that *Rome* had not a very great Extent.

III. Hiſtory does not mention any Publick Building of Note without the Walls, of what is now Modern *Rome*, I mean of any Cirque, Baths, Amphitheatre, Palace, or great Temple, or in ſhort of any of thoſe ſtate-

ly Edifices which were ſo numerous, and added ſo much to the Glory of Old *Rome*. 'Tis true, ſome Antiquaries mention a few Temples without the Walls, but moſt Authors taking no notice of them, it ſeems probable theſe Temples were not very conſiderable; and this Argument may be alledg'd in order to ſhew, that the Suburbs of *Rome* were not of any great Note, as I ſhall prove in its proper place.

IV. Nor does it appear that the number of Bridges over the *Tiber* were ſo much encreas'd at *Rome* under the Emperors, eſpecially under *Aurelian*, or that there were any more than Seven or Eight as before; whereas had *Pagan Rome* been a Hundred and Twenty Miles about, or only a Hundred, there had been, in all likelihood, a greater Number of Bridges: 'Tis obſervable there are Nine or Ten in *Paris*, which for largeneſs is not to compare to Old *Rome*, (which is pretended by *Voſſius* to have been Two Hundred times as big as the Modern) tho' the *Seine* be much a larger River than the *Tiber*, and conſequently the Bridges o-

ver

ver it longer and more chargeable. The new *Ponte Molo*, which is out of *Rome*, but pretty near it, was ſo undoubtedly in the Time of the *Roman* Emperors, under the Name of *Pons Milvius*. *Rome* has to this Day the very ſame *Bridges*, or at leaſt the Ruins of them in the ſame Places where they anciently ſtood, and they are as well within the New *Rome*, or as near it, as they were of Old, in or near the Ancient *Rome*.

V. We do not find moreover, that the *Romans* ever reckon'd above Fourteen Regions or Wards within their City, neither before nor after the Emperors, which Number is the ſame within the Walls of Modern *Rome*.

VI. So likewiſe they never reckon'd above Seven great *Cloacas*, or Common-ſhores, which, as the general Opinion is, were built in the Time of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, King of the *Romans*, when the City was very inconſiderable, and anſwer'd to the Seven Hills of *Rome*; ſo that *Rome*, it ſeems, had not much encreas'd in Circuit ſince that King, but only in Number of Houſes and Inhabitants.

VII. It had been a Folly to build ſuch a vaſt City, as they pretend, upon ſuch a pitiful River as the *Tiber* was, in a barren Ground, and without the Neighbourhood of a good Sea-Port.

VIII. The *Roman* Hiſtorians, ſuch as *Publius Victor*, *Donatus*, *Panvinius*, *Rufus*, &c. confeſs that there were not Fifty Thouſand Houſes in it; ſome ſay there were only Forty One Thouſand, but *Lipſius* and others reckon Forty Six Thouſand. Amongſt theſe Houſes there were about Seventeen or Eighteen Hundred *Domus* or Palaces for the Senators, *&c.* the reſt being call'd *Inſulæ*, and were inhabited by meaner Perſons.

Theſe Obſervations are ſo much the more weighty, in that the ancient *Roman* Hiſtorians have been ſo particular in their Account of the moſt valuable Things of this City, as to mention the Number of their Ovens, publick Granaries, Fountains, Ciſterns, Groves, Stews, *&c.* inſomuch that if there had been more Bridges, Regions, Hills, *Fora publica*, fine Temples, or ſtately Edifices

ces without the Walls, 'tis not likely that they would have paſs'd them by in ſilence.

In the Hiſtory of *Auguſtus* we read that he had poſted in the *Tranſtiberine* Region, which was one of the Suburbs of *Rome*, Two Cohorts of Soldiers, in order to put out the Fire in all Parts of the Town, and to ſuppreſs popular Tumults upon all Occaſions. I ask how that could be done, had *Rome* been ſo vaſt, when that Region, where thoſe Two Cohorts were, was in the very Skirts of the City? 'Tis the ſame Caſe, as if Two Companies, of Two or Three Hundred Men each, were quarter'd in *Weſtminſter*, to put out the Fires, and quell the Seditions which might happen at *Southwark* or *Wapping*; only with this difference, that *Rome* being greater (if theſe magnifying Authors ſpeak the Truth) the Soldiers muſt have been harder put to it, by reaſon of their Remoteneſs, or rather they muſt have been of no uſe, it being impoſſible for them either to ſuppreſs Seditions, or to extinguiſh Fire in Places ſo remote from their Quarters, and at this rate

rate where was *Auguſtus*'s Wiſdom?

'Tis obſervable beſides that *Rome* (according to *Pliny*) conſiſted but of Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*, which does not quadrate very much with that Vaſtneſs attributed to it by our magnifying Authors. I confeſs he mentions Two Hundred and Seventy Three *Compita*, either *trivia* or *quadrivia*, that is, croſs Ways divided into Three or Four Branches, becauſe there are commonly more croſs Ways in a Town than Streets, becauſe every Street has Two Ends, which ſerve to make croſs Ways; but what is that in Compariſon to *London*, which has Thouſands of them? I own moreover, that *Publius Victor* gives Old *Rome* Four Hundred and Twenty Three Streets, which however bears no proportion with that Extent *Lipſius* and *Voſſius* gives it; our *French* Authors reckon no leſs than Eight Hundred Streets in *Paris*, which falls much ſhort of *London*, that contains ſome Thouſands, as well as croſs Ways.

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A great Sign, that there is no Foot-ſtep to be found in ancient Hiſtory to convince us that *Rome* was greater, is, That all the ancient Maps don't make it greater than it is at this Day; the reaſon is, that though the Authors of them were as much in the dark, as to the Greatneſs of it, as *Lipſius* and *Voſſius*, and believ'd it to be greater than they repreſented, yet they could not form a diſtinct Idea of it.

We are told indeed, that the City of *Rome* had no leſs than Thirty Gates, and by ſome Thirty Seven, with as many great Roads leading to them, but that is far from proving ſo prodigious an Extent as *Lipſius* and *Voſſius* give it, and makes rather againſt than for them. Was *London* ſurrounded with Walls, it muſt needs have a Hundred Gates at leaſt, eſpecially if there were ſo many void Places as *Rome* had. In the City of *London*, within the Walls only, we reckon Seven great Gates, beſides Two or Three Poſterns, though there be little above half the City that has any Gates at all; for there is none on the River ſide, and from

Ludgate

Ludgate or *Algate* as far as the River; now the City of *London*, within the Walls, is hardly the Eighth part of the Extent or Houſes of all *London*. The Gates of the City of *Rome* were for the moſt part at a ſmall diſtance from each other. 'Tis a thing well known to be Arbitrary, and at the Will of the Governors, to have fewer or more Gates to a City: Theſe may either place them near one another, or further off, as they pleaſe. Had *Rome* been Fifty Miles about, it might have had Two Hundred, or at leaſt a Hundred Gates, as *Thebes* had in the Fable. 'Tis probable many Conſuls, in the time of their Conſulſhip, pleas'd themſelves with making unneceſſary new Gates and High-ways, only to perpetuate their Memory in giving them their own Names, or to go a nearer way to their Country Houſes. Hence the Names of *Via Caſſia*, *Valeria*, *Numicia*, *Aurelia*, *Cornelia*, &c. The Gates themſelves bore the ſame Names, as *Porta Valeria*, *Numicia*, &c.

Lipſius, in his *Roma Illuſtrata*, quotes *Lampridius*, who tells an extravagant

travagant Story in order to ſhew the vaſt Extent of the City of *Rome*, *viz.* that the Emperor *Heliogabalus*, or *Elagabalus*, as he is ſometimes ſtil'd, order'd all the Cobweds in the City to be gather'd together, which were afterwards found to weigh Ten Thouſand Pound weight. But I anſwer, If the thing be true, 'tis like *Heliogabalus*, but not at all honourable to *Rome*, nor does it conclude any thing elſe, but that the Citizens were poor and naſty, and the Houſes very ill kept, and not well inhabited. Others ſay it was the Emperor *Varius* who did it, however I hardly believe that there could be gather'd Five Hundred Pound weight of Cobwebs in *London*, which is a ſign of its Cleanneſs, Populouſneſs and Wealth, although it is far more extended than Old *Rome* was, as ſhall be ſhewn hereafter.

As to the Walls of *Aurelian*, pretended to have been Fifty Miles about, according to *Lipſius*, or Sixty, according to *Voſſius*; *Donatus* ſays they were the ſame in Compaſs that are extant now, and *Publius Victor*, a contemporary Author, and very

very exact, relates the whole Sum to which each Region of *Rome* did amount, as meaſur'd by the Geometers of thoſe Times, and ſays that in all, every one of the Fourteen Regions being meaſur'd and taken apart, its whole Compaſs did not make up all together Forty Three Miles, how then could the Circumference of all taken together amount to ſo much?

Olimpiodorus alſo obſerves, that it was meaſur'd in the Time of *Honorius*, (between whoſe Time and that of *Aurelian*'s there were only a Hundred and Fifty Years) and ſays, that if there had been any Alteration made in the Walls of the City, that is, if they had fallen, or been broken, Care had been taken to repair them; for between theſe Two Emperors ſeveral other wiſe Emperors did reign, who would not have failed to have cauſed them to be mended. *Rome* indeed was plunder'd by the *Goths*, but as *Bozius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and other Authors report, it was only an Invaſion, wherein they did not any conſiderable Damage to the Publick Structures; and 'tis certain that *Honorius* caus'd all the neceſſary Repa-

rations

rations to be made about the Walls, as may be ſeen by the Inſcriptions and other Monuments, which ſhew plainly that they are ſtill the ſame Walls of *Aurelian*.

This is the Opinion of *Donatus* as quoted by *Nardini*, who ſubſcribes to it. They affirm, that they are the ſame Walls of *Aurelian*; and that *Conſtantine* and *Honorius* made ſome little Alterations, without diminiſhing them. What *Aurelian* did to the Walls was only making ſome Additions to them, by incloſing the *Campus Martius* and the *Tranſtiberine Region* within them, and ſo joining 'em to the reſt of the City. And the preſent Walls of *Rome* are (as was ſaid before) either the very ſame as to the greateſt Part, or at leaſt of the ſame Extent with thoſe ſo enlarg'd by *Aurelian*.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus compar'd *Athens* to *Rome* for the Bigneſs, which he ought not to have done, if he had thought *Rome* ſo big as our Authors do.

Notwithſtanding theſe Arguments, back'd and enforc'd with the beſt and moſt ſufficient Authorities, *Lipſius* aſſures us that *Rome* had Suburbs Fif-

Fifteen Miles in length, and *Voſſius* inſinuates that its Suburbs took up the Compaſs of Seventy Miles; which together with its Fifty or Fifty Two Miles pretended Circumference of the Walls of the City, made up a Hundred and Twenty, or a Hundred and Twenty Two. But all theſe Imaginations may be eaſily confuted.

I. Had there been ſuch large Suburbs, an Account would have been given (as before ſaid) of ſome *Fora publica* in thoſe Suburbs, of their Temples, or other great Edifices, as Baths or Amphitheatres.

II. The Names of thoſe Suburbs would have been taken notice of, ſince Hiſtorians took Notice of the leaſt Things. If Mention be made in Hiſtory of One Suburb which made One of the Fourteen Regions (or Wards) of *Rome*, I mean the *Tranſtiberina Regio*, how come the reſt to be paſſed by, if they were ſo conſiderable?

III. Amongſt the *Roman* Tribes there's but One taken Notice of under the Name of *Suburbana*, which was included in the *Tranſtiberina Regio*, and walled about with the reſt,

reſt, as well as *Campo Marzo*, where now ſtands *Urbs Leonina*. Had the other Suburbs been greater than the City, or even ſomething conſiderable, 'tis like there had been more than One *Tribus Suburbana*; ſince there were Three *Urbana's* in the City, and another in the *Tranſtiberina Regio*: If this *Regio* or Ward alone (altho' of a little Extent) had One, how much more ſhould all the other Suburbs, if they had been great, have had ſome Tribes?

IV. 'Tis plain the City was more than big enough to contain many more People than it had, without building of Suburbs. *Voſſius* himſelf ſeems to be of that Opinion, when he ſays there were within the Walls of Old *Rome* an innumerable multitude of Noblemens Country Houſes, ſaid to be in the Suburbs; *Innumeræ Nobilium Villæ intra Mœnia erant, quæ Suburbanæ vocabantur*, according to *Seneca*, *Lucan*, and *Ariſtides*: Which, if true, ſeems to prove alſo that the Suburbs were walled about with the City, as well as the *Tranſtiberina Regio*, which was reputed to be a *Suburb*. So that there were no

other Suburbs without the Walls, and, as we ſhall make it appear afterwards, Two Thirds of the City were empty.

'Tis not to be doubted, but that in the Neighbourhood of *Rome* there were many fine Seats, Gardens and Orchards, of the principal Citizens, which made them look like ſo many great Boroughs: Nor do I queſtion but that there were many goodly Towns and Villages at a ſmall Diſtance from it, which ſome might look upon as Part of *Rome*, and call it ſo accordingly, even as *Voſſius* tells us, *pag.* 4. of his *Obſervationes variæ*, that ſome included under the Name of *Alexandria* the whole *Palus Meotis*, and under that of *Thebes* the whole Province in which it ſtood, as 'tis now ſaid of the *Montferrat* wherein *Turin* ſtands, that it is but One City, becauſe of its Populouſneſs.

'Tis undoubtedly for that Reaſon, *viz.* of the Boroughs and fine Seats that were near *Rome*, that *Pliny* ſpeaks ſo, *Exſpatiantia tecta multas addidiſſe Urbes;* that is, That the Houſes which were ſpread up and down

down about *Rome* did add many Towns to the City; he does not call them Suburbs. And *Dionyſius* alſo ſaid, " That all the Places inhabited " without the City were without " Walls, and it would be in vain for " a Man, conſidering of them, to " inquire into the Greatneſs of the " Town, and that he would hardly " find where it begins or ends, ſo " near do the Suburbs approach and " join to the City, and make it look " as if it were of an immenſe Length.

Omnia loca circa Urbem habitata ſine Mœnibus eſſe, in quæ ſi quis intuens, magnitudinem Urbis inquirere velit, fruſtra eum fore, & haſurum ubi deſinat Urbs ubi incipiat, adeo Suburbana inquit ipſi Urbi adhærent & innexa ſunt, & ſpeciem immenſæ longitudinis exhibent ſpectanti.

Lipſius quotes all thoſe Authors, as alſo *Ariſtides* the Rhetorician, who lived in the Emperor *Adrian*'s Time, who ſaid, " *Rome* was ſo big, that " in what Part of it ſoever a Man " might be, it was the ſame thing as " if he were in the middle. But this is only a Figure of Rhetorick called *Hyperbole*. A Man could not think himſelf, when he was out of the Walls of *Rome*, to be in the Middle of the City, ſince he could ſee there no *Fora Publica* or *Civilia*, nor Baths, nor Temples, nor any great Struct-

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Tantam Romam eſſe ut in quacunque parte quis exſtiterit, nihil impediat, & in medio eum eſſe.

ure, for theſe Things are generally in the chiefeſt Part of a City, and were ſo at *Rome*.

As for the other Authors quoted, *Pliny* himſelf reckons only Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets in *Rome*; and by what he tells us, *Lib.* 36. *Cap.* XV. we ſee that *Rome* could not be ſo extraordinary big: "We have "ſeen (ſays he) the whole City ſur- "rounded by the Houſes of *Caius* and "*Nero*, and even, that nothing might "be wanting, the fine Palace of the "latter was of Gold, or gilded over. And *Dionyſius* compared *Athens* to *Rome*, as is already ſaid: So that when they ſpoke ſo, they did not underſtand the ſame thing which *Lipſius* and *Voſſius* underſtand by their Words, but only that *Rome* was a very big City; and indeed in their Time there was none bigger, or ſo big in the World, at leaſt that were known to them; and its Bigneſs was ſo much the more ſurpriſing, in that they ſaw the River was pitiful, the Soil about *Rome* very ungrateful, and the Air heavy. This made them wonder, that in ſo little a time it ſhould have grown ſo very large.

Vidimus Urbem totam cingi domibus Principum Caij & Neronis, & hujus quidem ne quid deeſſet aureæ.

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If thoſe Authors could have ſeen the Length of *London*, from *Lambeth* or *Kenſington* to *Blackwall*, with thoſe prodigious Spaces full of Houſes, and all joining or contiguous to the City, in Form of very great Cities, they would have been ſtruck with far greater Amazement.

The *Roman* High-ways were ſo narrow, according to their own Hiſtorians, (as I ſhall ſhew in its proper Place) that from thence it may appear the Town could not be very big, for the wideſt of them were fit for the drawing only of Two Carts abreaſt.

Voſſius himſelf owns, that *Ariſteas*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Menander* the Rhetorician, do make *Alexandria* bigger than *Rome*, altho' he acknowledges at the ſame time, that *Diodorus* did not allow above Three Hundred Thouſand Souls to *Alexandria*.

And *Voſſius* is inconſiſtent with himſelf, as to the exceſſive Bigneſs which he gives to *Rome*, and ſeems to agree with us, when he owns that the *Augures & Sacrorum Antiſtites ſemper voluere, ut univerſa Roma ſeptem contineretur Montibus*. That is Pag. 18.

to ſay, " That the Augurs and other " Prieſts deſir'd always that all *Rome* " ſhould be contained within the Se- " ven Mounts. But indeed after- wards he endeavours to overthrow that Conceſſion, by a ſtrange Ficti- on of his own Brain, thus, " The " Compaſs of the City and the Walls " increaſing, the Mounts did increaſe " alſo, and did extend their Limits a " great way off, becauſe their Augurs " and Prieſts did add ſeveral little " Hills to every Mount, as ſo many " Dependencies of them, ſo that they " were all called by the Names of thoſe " Mounts.

Pag. 4. *Creſcente Pomerio & Mœniorum amplitudine, ipſos quoque creviſſe montes, & quam latiſſime finium ſuorum protuliſſe Terminos, ſingulis quippe Montibus Augures & Sacerdotes complures adjecere Colles, qui velut appendices iiſdem accederent, ita ut uno eodemque nomine omnes cenſerentur.*

He tells you the Reaſon why their Prieſts did it, *viz.* becauſe they us'd to make their Proceſſions about Mounts, and did alſo there ſtudy the Flight of the Birds, from whence they made their Prognoſtications, which did bring them in a great deal of Profit, by the Superſtition and fooliſh Credulity of the People. I ſhall ſhew by his own Words hereaf- ter what prodigious Addition he thinks they

they made to the Seven Mounts, I may well call it prodigious, ſince he ſays that *Rome* within the Walls was Sixty Miles about. Is it not a wonderful Fecundity that Mounts ſhould produce Hills, whenſoever the Prieſts would have it ſo. By this means, inſtead of Seven Mounts and Three Hills, which were really in *Rome*, and are ſtill, they might have included Hundreds; for 'tis certain that there are a great many more at ſome Miles Diſtance from *Rome:* Why did not they include Mount *Soracte*, and that Hill on which ſtands the Monaſtery of *Benedictines* near *Rome* where Cardinal *Howard* was, and ſeveral others.

Hiſtory mentions only Three Hills in the Compaſs of Old *Rome*, viz. *Collis Hortulorum*, *Vaticanus*, and *Janiculum*, which are included alſo at preſent within the Walls of Modern *Rome*, under other Names. The Names of the Seven Mounts are ſo well known, that it is almoſt ſuperfluous to recite them, *viz. Palatinus*, *Capitolinus*, *Aventinus*, *Cælius*, *Eſquilinus*, *Viminalis*, and *Quirinalis*; however 'tis plain that their Prieſts

did not add, as *Voſſius* ſays, ſeveral other Hills to every Mount; *Singulis Montibus complures adjecere Colles*, ſaith he, ſince there were but Three Hills and Seven Mounts in all.

Voſſius owns alſo, in another Place, that the Ancient Authors do not give other Limits to *Rome* beſides the Seven Mounts; but he ſays they underſtood it only of its *Pomærium*, that is, the chiefeſt Part, as comprehending the Palaces and Houſes of the Nobles, Senators and Knights *. Who told him that it muſt be underſtood ſo? Or does he prove that the City ever was bigger in Compaſs than what the Modern *Rome* now is? He himſelf in another Place ſays, as we have ſeen already, that *Seneca*, *Lucan* and *Ariſtides* ſaid that there was an innumerable Multitude of Noblemens Seats within the Compaſs of the Walls, which were called *Suburbanæ*, ſaid to be in the Suburbs, becauſe undoubtedly they were in the Skirts of the City, and not, as he ſays here, in the chiefeſt Part of it, *præcipua ejus Parte*.

So that it is evident, the Compaſs of Old *Rome*, within the Walls and Sub-

* Pag. 14. *Quando itaque Urbem ſeptem circumſcribi & contineri Collibus ſcribunt Veteres, hoc de Pomærio, id eſt, de præcipua ejus intelligendum eſt parte, utpote quæ Palatium & Atria comprehenderet Nobilium, Equitum, Senatorum*, &c.

Suburbs, was the ſame as is that of Modern *Rome*, and that they had no other Suburb ſo call'd, but the *Tranſtiberine* Region (or Ward) which was within the Walls.

Note, that Sir *William Petty* (*pag.* 14. of his *Eſſays of Political Arithmetick*) did not think that *Rome* without the Suburbs and within the Walls was ever ſo big as I make it; he thought it had Suburbs in the Plural Number, and gives it only Ten Miles Compaſs with their Suburbs, and to *London* only Nine, and yet he makes the People of Old *Rome* the Double of that of *London*, which are Two great Miſtakes. He quotes Mr. *Chevreau*, who believ'd that there dy'd by the Plague in *Nero*'s Time Three Hundred Thouſand Souls in *Rome* in One Year, according to ſome *Roman* Authors. For my part, I can hardly believe that there ever was in *Rome* much above Three Hundred Thouſand Souls or Inhabitants.

Doctor *Heylin* made Old *Rome* a great deal bigger, *viz.* of Fifty Miles Compaſs, and generally all the other *Engliſh* Authors I have read upon that Subject. *Voſſius* confeſſes that the Circuit

Circuit of the Modern *Rome* is ſmall, he gives it hardly Ten Miles; theſe are his Words, "If having no regard "to the Sinuoſities of the Wall, you "take only the Circuit of it, you "ſhall not find Ten Miles, and even "hardly Seven, if you omit that Part "which is beyond the *Tiber*, where "there is no Wall.

Voſſ. Pag. 10. *Si neglectis amfractibus & laciniis, Muri ambitum perſequeris, ne integra quidem decem paſſuum continebit Millia, imo ne ſeptem quidem, ſi omittas eam Partem quæ eſt ad Tiberim, ubi nullus olim Murus.*

I muſt now here, for the Satisfaction of the Learned, or ſuch as may not have the Books at hand, juſtifie, by the proper Words of *Lipſius* and *Voſſius*, what they ſay of the Bigneſs of Old *Rome*. The Words of *Lipſius*, in his *Roma illuſtrata*, (Reviſed by *A. Thyſius*, Printed at *London* in the Year 1698.) in Engliſh run thus. "'Tis plain that *Rome* (ſays he) was "in a manner double, one walled a-"bout, and the other not, which "however ſurrounded the other on "all

P. 181, & 182. *Liquet autem Romam quaſi duplicem fuiſſe, unam clauſam muris, & alteram non clauſam, quæ tamen in Orbem circumjecta eſſet, & continentibus Ædificiis inſtructa. Illa habebat in ambitu 23 milliaria, hæc 42 itaque totus ambitus interioris & exterioris Romæ, erat 42 Miliarium. Aurelianus vero Muros ſit ampliavit ut 50 prope Millia Murorum ejus ambitus tenerent, iſte Urbis fuit ambitus, ſed deſiit.*

" all Parts, and was as full of Houſes " and Buildings compacted together, " as Towns uſually are, and not ſcam- " bling as in Suburbs, (for I take this to be the Senſe of the Words *continentibus Ædificiis inſtructa*) " the firſt " was Twenty Three Miles in Com- " paſs, the other Forty Two, ſo that " the whole Compaſs both of the in- " ward and outward *Rome* was Forty " Two Miles. But the Emperor *Au-* " *relian* did ſo increaſe the Walls of " the City, that it was almoſt Fifty " Miles in Compaſs within the Walls; " ſuch was the Compaſs of *Rome*, " 'till it came to decay.

And a little further he adds theſe Words, " We have ſeen (ſays he) " hitherto a double *Rome* with its " old and new Compaſs, there was a " Third without Compaſs, by which " I mean its Suburbs. This was alſo " very great, according to the Idea " which *Pliny* gives of it, when he " ſays, that the Houſes which ſtretch'd " into the Country added many " Towns

Romam duplicem hactenus habuimus veteri ambitu, & novo, eſt & tertia quadam ſine ambitu, & quæ in Suburbiis procurrit, ea quoque ingens & Plinii imagine oſtendenda, qui ait exſpatiantia tecta multas addidiſſe Urbes. Plures, inquam, ſunt Urbes & tot, quot Suburbia, quæ Tibur, Ocriculum, Ariciam, atque alio excurrebant, ſed maxime Oſtiam & Mare verſus, illuc vel ad 15 aut circiter Milliaria procedebant.

" Towns to *Rome*. There were " (ſaith he) added as many Towns " as there were Suburbs extending " towards *Tibur*, *Ocriculum*, *Aricia*, " and elſewhere, but eſpecially *Oſtia*, " and towards the Sea, that way they " reach'd as far as Fifteen Miles or " thereabouts.

By which Account of *Lipſius*, ſuppoſing the other Suburbs of the ſame Length, or thereabouts, the Compaſs of *Rome*, both Town and Suburbs, muſt have been above an Hundred Miles.

Theſe are the Words of *Voſſius* in his *Obſervationes Variæ:* " Let us " compare (ſays he) the *Area* of the " City of *Rome* with the *Areas* of " the Two greateſt Cities in the " Chriſtian World, *viz. Paris* and " *London*; if the Meaſurers of them " do not deceive us, thoſe Two Ci- " ties join'd together take up as much " Ground as comes almoſt to a *Ger-* " *man* Mile, or a Square of Six- " teen Thouſand Paces. But the *A-* " *rea*

Pag. 33. *Componamus Aream Urbis Romanæ cum areis duarum maximarum Orbis Chriſtiani Civitatum, Londinenſi nempe & Pariſiorum Urbe. Si Menſores non fallunt, duæ iſtæ Civitates ſimul junctæ, aream inſident quæ fere Leucam conficiat Germanicam, ſive ſedecim Millia paſſuum quadrata. Atqui Area Urbis Romanæ additis Suburbiis, octodecies majus continebat Spatium, quod ſi Tractum Tranſtiberinum addamus, pluſquam vicies major fuit Romæ Area, ac erit illa quam prædictæ duæ impleant Civitates.*

" *rea* of the City of *Rome*, if we in-
" clude its Suburbs, contain'd a Space
" Eighteen times bigger, and if we
" add that Part of it which was be-
" yond the *Tiber*, the *Area* of the
" City of *Rome* was above Twenty
" times as big as that of *London* and
" *Paris* together.

Before, *viz. pag.* 10. he was of Opinion that *Tractus Tiberinus* was but Three Miles about, the City being Seven Miles round, in all Ten Miles. He does not deny but that the *Tractus Tiberinus* was the ſame under *Aurelian* as it is now, ſo that by this he gives but Three Miles Circuit to *London* and *Paris* join'd together.

But what he ſays in another Place is yet more ſurpriſing: " If we con-
" ſider (ſays he) Modern *Rome*, we
" ſhall find it does not contain the Two
" Hundredth Part of the Old City:
Which is a ſtranger Aſſertion than the former, ſince he himſelf has own'd that Modern *Rome* is Nine or Ten Miles at leaſt in Compaſs; and were it but Five Miles, Two Hundred times Five would make a Thouſand: Now in the former Aſſertion he gives but a Hundred and Twenty Miles Circuit

Pag. 36. *Ipſam vero hodiernam ſi ſpectas Romam, illa ne ducenteſimam quidem Urbis antiquæ continet partem.*

Circuit to Old *Rome*, whereby it appears that Mr. *Voſſius*, notwithſtanding his great Learning, Erudition and Exactneſs in ſome things, is not always conſiſtent with himſelf.

'Tis plain then that *London* (I mean, what is included within the Bills of Mortality) is far bigger than Old *Rome* was, ſince that was no larger than the Preſent City is, which every body owns not to be compar'd to *London*, which would take up a Square of Thirty Six Miles, if we include in it all its Extremities, ſuch as *Blackwall* and Part of *Kenſington*, (being within the Bills, and belonging to St. *Margarets Weſtminſter*) and the Extremities of *Hackney*, *Shoreditch*, *Iſlington*, *Newington*, *Lambeth*, &c. For it is evident, all theſe Spaces made in a perfect Square, ſuch as *Voſſius* makes Old *Rome* to have been, would make a Square of Thirty Six Miles, and ſo *London* would be at preſent Three times as big as Old *Rome* ever was.

If any Body ask how this could be, ſince we ſaid before that ſome do allow Ten Miles, others Thirteen Miles Circumference to New *Rome*, which

is

is the ſame Compaſs with Old *Rome*? I anſwer, That from the Queen's Houſe at *Kenſington* to *Blackwall* there is above Nine Miles, now ſuppoſing *London* to be included in a perfect Square, as *Voſſius* fancies Old *Rome* to have been, it would make Thirty Six Miles. I confeſs there would be a great many empty Spaces in this Square of *London*; but I ſhall prove, in the following Sheets, that there were as many empty Spaces proportionably in Ancient *Rome*, though not bigger than the Modern. Let thus much ſuffice to have ſaid of the Extent of the Two Cities: Proceed we now to the Second Head propos'd to be treated of in this Compariſon, *viz.* the Number of Inhabitants, with which we ſhall begin the following Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Number of People in Rome, *compared with the ſame in* London.

WE ſaid already that the chief-eſt Queſtion is to know, whether there might be as many Inhabitants in Ancient *Rome* as there is in *London* at this Day, and not to know the utmoſt Extent of both Cities; becauſe that Extent depends upon the Fancy of a Prince, who may give what Compaſs he pleaſes to his Capital City; but it is not equally in his Power to render it extraordinarily populous. This depends upon the Nature of the Soil, its Goodneſs or Fruitfulneſs; its advantagious Situation, and good Air; upon its being fit for Trade, or actual driving a good Trade; as alſo upon its having a good Sea-Port, One or more navigable Rivers, of a long Courſe, broad and deep, with the Flux and Reflux, and not ſubject to Tem-

Tempeſts. 'Tis requiſite alſo that all ſorts of Proviſions be cheap, that it be the chief City of a powerful State, and the Seat of the Empire; that there be abundance of Manufactures, and all ſorts of Arts flouriſhing; that there be no other Town in its Neighbourhood fitter for all theſe Things; that the Religion be proper to make a Nation flouriſh; that the Laws of the Government do ſecure the Liberty and Property of the Subjects, and encourage Propagation; that great Care be taken that Juſtice be impartially adminiſtred without great Fees; as alſo that Taxes upon the People be moderate; that Immorality be puniſh'd, and Virtue incouraged. 'Tis not enough that it ſhould be the Capital City and Seat of the Empire, or of the chiefeſt Courts of Juſtice, or of an Univerſity, or the chiefeſt Place of Abode of Travellers or Students; for theſe Things are not comparable (as I ſhall ſhew) to the foreſaid Advantages, eſpecially that of a good Trade by Sea and Land, as alſo of Arts and Manufactures flouriſhing, which imploy an infinite Number of People, cauſe a Nation

to be laborious and induſtrious, and do procure the Means to get and ſpend much, by a continual Circulation of the Mony and other Effects of a Nation from hand to hand.

Now if we run thro' the foreſaid Conditions requiſite to make a Town extraordinary populous and rich, we ſhall yet more plainly ſee that *London* is much better qualify'd for it than Ancient *Rome* was; and conſequently ought to be much more populous and rich. And if we examine all that has been ſaid in theſe reſpects in the behalf of Ancient *Rome*, it will be plain, that Authors have been groſly miſtaken in that Point; and that ſuch a Number of People as they aſcribe to *Rome* could not have ſubſiſted there. 'Tis not enough to get Children, as the Proverb ſays, but we muſt know beſides how to maintain 'em.

'Tis certain that *Rome* was and is ſituated in a barren Ground, and in an unhealthy Air. *Erat Cœlo gravi objecta atque in ſterili ſolo poſita*, as the Authors ſay. That the Port of *Oſtia* was never fit for a great Trade, that

that the *Tiber* does not flow nor ebb, that the ſame River is narrow, rapid, and ſinuous or winding; that they are oblig'd to make Uſe of Horſes to draw the Boats from *Oſtia* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* upwards. Theſe are prodigious Inconveniences, in ſubſiſting ſuch a vaſt Multitude of People as there is in *London*, and far from ſubſiſting ſo many Millions of People as our Authors would have it. In theſe Reſpects *Rome* was juſt as it is at this Day, *viz.* as to its Climate, Soil, Air, River, and Seaport; excepting only that the Country was more populous, and better cultivated than it is now, becauſe Popery (which deſtroys and makes deſolate all Countries wherein it is profeſs'd) has reign'd there ever ſince its Riſe.

I ask from whence *Rome* could get all the Materials, Proviſions and Neceſſaries to form ſuch a City as *London* is, and to maintain ſo vaſt a Number of Inhabitants as are therein?

If it be anſwer'd that they did for the moſt part come up by the River from the Sea, and down from the

Country by the ſame River, and the other ſmall River called *Anio*, which diſcharges it ſelf into the *Tiber*, and that ſome came alſo by Carts and Horſes, as is done at *London*: This Anſwer will be abſurd, becauſe the Port of *Oſtia* never was a good Sea-port, as already ſaid, and could never ſerve but for ſmall Boats, and that River is without Tide, as all other Rivers are in the Mediterranean, and full of Mud; ſo that *Voſſius* was under a Miſtake, when he ſaid, "That the Port of *Oſtia* was the lar-"geſt Sea-port in all the World: As alſo *Lipſius*, when he ſays, "That "the *Tiber* was at *Rome* Four Hun-"dred Foot broad, and ſo deep that "the greateſt Ships did ride and ſail "in it. Where have they taken ſuch Notions? I confeſs that it was neceſſary for them to ſay ſo, ſince they will make *Rome* ſo populous, for otherwiſe it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt ſuch a Multitude of People there. If that Sea-port had been good, Hiſtorians would have made mention of its Goodneſs; we ſhould have known how it came to be ſpoil'd; and beſides, it is likely that thoſe who have been

Portus Oſtienſis totius Orbis ampliſſimus erat. Pag. 181. *Tiberis ille Pater qui Urbem ſecat, latus circa eam 4 Jugera ſive Pedes 400, profundus ſic ut maximas Naves ſuſcipiat & portet, &c.*

been in Poſſeſſion of *Rome* ſince, would have taken Care to preſerve it. For *Rome* has ever ſince been the Head of a powerful Empire, either Temporal or Spiritual, altho' we muſt own that it has very much decay'd under the Papal Uſurpation and Tyranny. 'Tis well known, that of all Men the Popes have been the moſt greedy of Gain, tho' never ſo ſordid, and therefore they would not have neglected a thing of ſuch Concern as the repairing and keeping that Port in Order, which might have afforded them a very great Revenue. If it had been very good before, why ſhould it not be repaired, rather than to make ſuch Expences as the laſt Pope did at *Nettuno* or *Anzo*, for a Sea-port, this lying further from *Rome*, and not near any River at all.

I confeſs *Voſſius* does not ſay roundly, but rather inſinuates that it was a good Sea-port; for otherwiſe, what ſignifies a large Port, if it be not good? Had it been a good Sea-port, the *Romans* would have kept ſome of their Fleet there; and the Ship of *Alexandria* that brought St. *Paul* from *Maltha* to thoſe Parts,

(and muſt have been of ſome conſiderable Bulk, by the Number of Souls in it) would have come into the Port of *Oſtia*, and not into that of *Puzzoli*; for their whole Buſineſs was at *Rome*, as appears by the Hiſtory in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, where 'tis related that he came from *Judea* to be cleared at *Rome* of the falſe Accuſations of the *Jews*. That Ship, I ſay, would have come directly to *Oſtia*, if the Port had been capable of admitting a Ship of that Bulk. But notwithſtanding that, *Lipſius* ſays plainly that it was a very good Port. I do not deny but ſmall Boats, and ſuch like Veſſels as they call *Felouques*, or *Lintres* in the *Latin* Tongue, may have come up to *Rome* anciently, as well as now, and even in great Numbers; but not ſo as to provide ſuch a City as *London* is with all Neceſſaries. 'Tis incredible what prodigious quantities of Things are neceſſary for ſuch a vaſt City. If there was nothing elſe but the Timber, and Fire-wood, where could they get enough for ſuch a City, and how could they bring it to it?

Pag. 181. *Flumen opportunum quo maritimi conventus accipiantur.*

It's

It's next to impoſſible that *Oſtia* ſhould have been a good Sea-port, by reaſon of the Dirt and Sand of that River; becauſe the Southern Winds blowing there with ſuch a Violence, as *Horace* ſomewhere tells us, did keep all the Mud and Dirt of the River there. It is that Mud and Sand, ſtopp'd by Violence of the Sea, that has bury'd many fine Buildings at *Rome*, which do not appear at preſent; and Part of thoſe Two noble Columns of *Trajan* and *Antonine* was once cover'd in this manner.

Beſides that, it muſt be known that the River was very remote from the greateſt Part of the City; which, the larger it is ſuppos'd to have been, the Carriage of all ſorts of Materials and Proviſions, to all the Parts of it, muſt needs be dearer in proportion. For the *Tiber* did paſs only through a little Part of *Rome*, the *Tranſtiberine* Region being not above the Twelfth Part of the whole. It was not like *London*, where the River runs almoſt through the middle, and by its Sinuoſity is not remote from every Part of it, and therefore Materials and Proviſions muſt needs have

been always ſo much the dearer at *Rome*. Now a Place, where ſuch Things are conſtantly dear, cannot be ſo wonderfully populous. *Voſſius* himſelf tells us, that according to *Pliny*, *Rome* had the Form of a Bow, whereof the *Tiber* was the String; and ſo conſequently the greateſt Part of the Town was very remote from the River. Add to it, that there were many Hills and high Places in *Rome*, which no doubt contributed alſo to make the ſame Things dearer, in reſpect of the Carriage, although they were not extraordinarily high.

Voſſ. Pag. 57. *Plinius teſtatur Romam Arcûs formam, cujus Chorda eſſet Tiberis, reddidiſſe.*

No doubt but a good Part of the Materials and Proviſions came down by the Two ſmall Rivers *Tiber* and *Anio*, but the Courſe of both is very ſhort, eſpecially of the laſt, and both are full of Windings, and rapid. *Virgil* ſays ſomewhere, *Leni fluit agmine Tibris*; that the *Tiber* did run gently; then *Virgil* did not know what was a placid River. Theſe Two Rivers cannot be remounted, even in empty Boats, but by the Help of Horſes, as is ſaid already, they are extreamly narrow, eſpecially the *Anio*, which deſerves hardly

hardly to be taken notice of; this Narrowneſs is very troubleſom to Navigation, when there are many Boats going up and down, as it muſt have been unavoidable, if there had been the ſame Multitude of People at *Rome* as there is at *London*. For the Boats being obliged in a narrow and rapid River to follow the Courſe of the Water as running downwards, and to ſhun the ſame as going upwards, and to ſide the Land by help of Horſes, 'tis eaſily conceiv'd that thoſe Boats had been every Moment in danger to be ſtav'd and daſh'd to pieces one by the other, if there had been many going up and down. All this was not proper to make a Town as populous as *London* is, and would undoubtedly have made Proviſions very dear, as I ſaid already. We muſt conſider beſides, that the Boats going upwards muſt have return'd empty, which muſt have been another great Inconveniency, by reaſon that there being no Commodity return'd to the Country, that which they brought from the Country to the Town muſt have paid double Freight, for coming and going back.

back. For what ſhould they have carry'd from *Rome* into the Country? We muſt not imagine that 'twas there as 'tis at *London*, where there are Magazines of a Thouſand ſorts of Commodities, both Foreign and Domeſtick, where you have abundance of Manufactures, and a rich and populous Country, and a People of great Expence, and curious, both in Town and Country. Whereas in the Time of Ancient *Rome* there was but little Trade in the whole World, the People were very frugal, and generally poor. They had no Manufactures but only of Woollen, and a little of Linnen, and theſe very ſimple; and we ſee in the Map no conſiderable Town where any Goods might be carry'd to by the River. Add to this, that the *Tiber* having ſo ſhort a Running, had it brought great Quantities of Proviſions to *Rome*, they muſt yet have been dear, ſince they would have been brought from the Country afar off by Land-Carriage to the River, before the River could convey them to *Rome*. Now every body knows, that when any bulky and heavy Commodity, ſuch

ſuch as Corn, Wine, Wood, Hay, *&c.* is brought by Land-Carriage to a River it makes the Commodity ſo much the dearer, ſometimes by half in half: So that 'tis evident the *Tiber* was not capable of maintaining a City ſo populous as *London* is. This we muſt farther ſay, that the *Tiber* is not navigable further than Twenty Leagues above *Rome*, and not above Ten or Twelve Leagues for Boats of any conſiderable Burthen. The *Romans* call'd it their Father, becauſe it maintain'd and furniſh'd Proviſions to their Town; but then it was a very indifferent one. So that *Lipſius* was very much miſtaken alſo, when he ſaid that "the *Tiber* was very "convenient to bring Proviſions "down to *Rome* from the Country.

Ibid. *Flumen opportunum quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur.*

As to the Materials or Proviſions that might have been brought to *Rome* by Land-Carriage, I ſaid already that ſuch Carriage cauſes them to be much dearer; but this muſt be further conſider'd, that their Highways, ſo narrow and ſtrangely pav'd, were not fit at all for that. They were all pav'd with large Free-ſtones: No body is ignorant how inconvenient

ent Stone-ways are, at long run, to Horſes, Cattle, and Men. It wearies and ruins their Legs, eſpecially ſuch Stones as their High-ways were pav'd with, being as even as a Looking-glaſs, as may be ſeen even at this Day by Travellers, who find here and there ſome Remains of thoſe High-ways. And no doubt but Beaſts and Men do often ſlide upon ſuch Stones, which were ſo cloſely join'd to one another, that their *Via Appia*, which they did call *Regina Viarum*, the Queen of all the High-ways, and was above an Hundred Miles long, ſeem'd to be all of a Stone. * They had about Thirty ſuch ſmall High-ways in all about *Rome*, that were thus pav'd, which ſhews pretty well that their Town could not be ſo populous, eſpecially when we ſee that their own Authors, commending thoſe High-ways, tell us that the broadeſt of

* *Lipſ.* pag. 194. quotes *Procopius*, ſaying, *Via Appia prater cateras ſpectabilis, ea latitudine, ut duo Currus ex adverſo obvii liberè queant pervadere & commeare*, &c. *Appius enim lapides ſiliceos & duriſſimos in hanc vehendos curavit, quos planos deinde & leves redditos, ac quadratos inciſione facta junxit & inordine locavit, metalli nihil vel alterius rei inſerendo, ſunt tamen ita connexi & validè inter ſe hærent, ut ſpeciem viſentibus præbeant non conjunctos ita eſſe, ſed congenitos. Et quamvis jam tot ſeculis atterantur aſſiduis plauſtris jumentiſque, tamen neque ſerie ſua vel minimum exeunt & dimoventur, neque franguntur aut lavorem ſuum amittunt.*

Georg. Fabr. Roma, pag. 268. *Tam autem lata fuerunt via extra Urbem, ut quædam binos currus ſimul euntes caperent.*

of them, which was *Via Appia*, was only fit for Two Carts to go a-breaſt, and the others leſs. Now it is plain, that if our High-ways about *London* were not broader, the Town would not be able to ſubſiſt, notwithſtanding our incomparable River, which is better than Thirty *Tibers*; and unleſs a ſpeedy Alteration was made in the ſame High-ways, by making them wider, *London* would ſuffer extreamly by it, and be nothing near ſo populous as it is. They were the common Roads for Carts and Horſes.

Theſe High-ways of *Rome* were Works of Oſtentation, fit only for the March of their Legions, and not very fit neither. They were ridiculous, and did not ſhew a great Prudence in thoſe who were the Contrivers of them, ſuppoſing *Rome* to have been a very populous City: For we do not hear they had any other High-ways than ſuch; and I wonder why the Emperors, who did convert their wooden Theatres into others of Marble or Free-ſtone, did not alſo make their High-ways broader. If ſo be their High-ways had been more convenient, and that there had been upon

upon the Coaſts ſeveral good Sea-ports, not far from *Rome*, they might have been ſupply'd with Proviſions from thence, but there was nothing to do with ſuch High-ways, and ſuch a Sea-port as that of *Oſtia*.

Every body at *London* is ſtruck with Admiration how ſuch a prodigious City can be ſupply'd with Proviſions, altho' it has the Advantage of an excellent River, not ſubject to any of the ordinary Inconveniences of Rivers; it is broad and deep, not ſubject nor obnoxious to Tempeſts, having the Benefit of Flux and Reflux for the Space of Eighty Miles, Twenty Miles above *London*, and running the Courſe of above Four Hundred Miles, where all the Ships in the World might be contain'd, and even the biggeſt, Two or Three Miles broad in ſome Places, running thro' a rich, fruitful, and populous Country, not ſubject to Over-flowings, and making One of the beſt Sea-ports in the Univerſe. A River beſides, into which ſeveral other navigable Rivers do diſcharge themſelves, and in an Age wherein there is more Trade and Navigation in the World

World than ever was before, and Ten times more Ships and Sea-men in *England* than ever were in all the *Roman* Empire in its greateſt Splendor. In fine, in a large Iſland, abounding with Sea-ports, Mariners, and Veſſels, which are continually bringing Proviſions and Commodities from all Parts of the Kingdom, and of the whole World to it, and driving beſides a prodigious Trade in the Country. Every body, I ſay, is amaz'd, notwithſtanding all this, at this Day, and the great Number of large and broad High-ways about *London*, how it can be ſupply'd with all Neceſſaries. How is it poſſible then that Ancient *Rome*, being deſtitute of all thoſe Advantages, ſhould ever have been able to maintain the ſame Number of People, and even ſeveral Millions, as *Lipſius*, *Voſſius*, and a Thouſand others pretend? For Example, *Lipſius* ſays that there were no leſs than Three or Four Millions of Servants or Slaves only. *Voſſius* aſſerts that there were more Slaves or Servants at *Rome* than there are Inhabitants in any Kingdom of *Europe* at this Day; and no leſs than Fourteen Mil-

Lipſ. pag. 183. *Jam igitur habemus in Roma 3 aut 4 Milliones Servorum, quantum nec in Provinciis quibuſdam & Regnis.*

Voss. Observationes variæ, pag. 33. *Plures Romæ Servi fuerunt quam ullus hoc Tempore Europæ Regnum contineat homines.*

Millions of Inhabitants of all sorts: But that there are only Six Hundred Thousand Souls in *London* and *Paris*, *viz.* Three Hundred Thousand in each of those Cities.

Idem, pag. 34. *Posito itaque hoc calculo habebis Romæ centies & quadragies centena Hominum Millia, sive ut vulgo loquuntur 14 Milliones, quantam multitudinem ne tria quidem amplissima Orbis Christiani possint conferre Regna. Numerus autem Incolarum in utrisque Urbibus, Parisiorum nempe & Londinensi, non excedit 600 Hominum Millia.*

At *Paris* I have often heard the People wonder how that City could be supply'd with all Sorts of Provisions, considering its Populousness; and yet it lies in a far better Ground, and better Air, than *Rome*, and is much better provided with Rivers, since there are Five or Six more navigable than the *Tiber*, falling very near it into the *Seine*, which is the chiefest of them, and runs through the middle of it. 'Tis well known that all those Rivers are of a longer Course than the *Tiber*, and run through better, more plentiful, and populous Countries than the *Tiber* ever did, and do all communicate with the Sea thro' the *Seine*. As for Example, there

there are Three or Four coming from *Burgundy* and *Champaign* into the *Marne* and *Seine* above *Paris*, and the *Oiſe* River from *Picardy* falls into the *Seine* a little below *Paris*, with another from *Beauce* which runs thro' *Chartres* into the *Seine*. Every Body knows beſides, that by the Means of the *Canal de Briare*, the great River *Loire*, diſtant only Ten Leagues from the *Rhone* at *Lions*, communicates with the *Seine*, and furniſhes *Paris* with Abundance of Proviſions and Commodities. All thoſe great Rivers, I ſay, ſupply *Paris* with a great many Things from the Two Seas, *Ocean* and *Mediterranean*, and with all ſorts of Materials and Proviſions from the Provinces of *France*, and yet for all that all Things are always pretty dear at *Paris*. I own that the exceſſive Impoſitions are partly the Cauſe of that Dearth, but *Rome*, when moſt populous, was alſo over-loaden with them, under the Emperors.

I never read in any Ancient Author that the Streets of *Rome* were very full of People, and yet it ſhould have been ſo, ſeeing they were ſo

narrow, and that there were ſo few of them.

I am ſure they had not ſo many convenient Lanes, Allies, Courts and Yards, full of People, as we have at *London*.

I do not remember I ever read that they had ſuch Abundance of Shops as there are here. The Number of their *Lupanaria*, or Bawdy-houſes, as their own Contemporary Authors do tell us, was alſo very mean, compared with that of many great Towns now in *Europe*. For their Authors do mention only Fourty Five, altho' we ſee by their Poets that they were not very chaſt neither. Yet I am confident they were a great deal better in that Point than many of the Chriſtian Nations are, by reaſon of the Court of Antichriſtian *Rome*, and its impure Clergy, who have infected all, even the Proteſtant Countries, with the Contagion of their Lewdneſs.

The Number of their Publick Houſes of Office, or *Latrines*, was not great, being but Fourty Four in all.

The Number alſo of the Houſes of great and rich Men, called *Domus*, was not very conſiderable, *viz.* One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty, according to *Lipſius*.

Pag. 199. *Tales autem Domus in tota Urbe fuerunt* 1780.

We may alſo ſee, by the Number of their Hand-mills of Braſs to grind Corn, that there was not ſuch a great Multitude of People as there is in *London*. For the *Roman* Authors, who us'd to amplifie all that might give a great Idea of their *Rome*, do reckon but Two Hundred Forty Four ſuch Hand-mills. 'Tis certain, that if there had been as much People in *Rome* as in *London*, ſo ſmall a Number of Hand-mills would not have been ſufficient, unleſs the *Romans* had eaten much leſs Bread than the *Engliſh* do; who yet are look'd upon, generally, by all the neighbouring Nations, as the leaſt Bread-eaters in the World. We know by Experience, that a Water-mill or Wind-mill that have but Two Mills each, can hardly each of them grind the Corn of a Country Pariſh of a Thouſand Souls, altho' the ſaid Mills are at work Day and Night, eſpecially Water-mills, even when they do not

want Water. Now it is known that thoſe ſort of Mills muſt needs do a great deal more Work than Hand-mills, manag'd only by the Strength of a Man's Arm. I believe it cannot be diſputed but that they were Hand-mills, conſidering the other Mills are the Invention of later Times; and beſides we ſee by their Authors that it was a Puniſhment among the *Romans*, for their Slaves to be imploy'd in that kind of Work, ſince the Maſters do threaten, in *Terence* and *Plautus*, their Servants, to ſend 'em to the Mills; *Dabo te in Piſtrinum.* It was a Puniſhment like to that of the *Raſp-huys* in *Holland*, for incorrigible Rogues. And 'tis likely, that as they are condemned in *Holland* to raſp ſo many Pounds of Braſil Wood a Day, ſo likewiſe thoſe wicked Men at *Rome* were condemned to grind ſuch Meaſure of Corn a Day. Another Reaſon to ſhew that they muſt have been Hand-mills is, that there were Mills in all the Regions of the Town, proportionably to the Number of Inhabitants of each Region, as you may ſee in their Authors, ſuch as *Donatus* and *Publius Victor*; where-

whereas Water and Wind-mills cannot be us'd every where, and, as I ſaid, they are a new Invention.

The Number of their publick Ovens, where all the Bread for the Town was bak'd, ſhews likewiſe that there was not ſuch a vaſt Number of People as we generally fancy. It was much if an Oven could bake Bread every Day, one with another, for a Thouſand People. Their Authors take notice only of Three Hundred Twenty Nine publick Ovens. I confeſs this Proof might be of no great Force, if we had not ſo many others, becauſe it might be ſaid that there were perhaps Twenty Ovens in a Houſe, which were all comprehended under the Name of an Oven; and the ſame of the Mills too, and *Latrines*, and Bawdy-houſes.

It ſeems alſo, by the ſmall Number of their Common-ſhores, *viz.* Seven, that the City could not be ſo great, nor conſequently hold ſo many People. I do not doubt but that there were ſeveral little Ones, that diſcharg'd themſelves into the great Ones, altho' Authors do not take notice of them. But however it ſeems

that a City of Sixty or an Hundred and Twenty Miles in Compaſs, with ſeveral Millions of People in it, as our Authors would have it, would have had a much greater Number of Common-ſhores; and 'tis remarkable that thoſe Seven did all of them meet into One, as their own Authors do write.

Lipſ. Pag. 197. *Fuerunt enim 7 Cloacæ præcipuæ, tot quot ſunt Montes, & in magnam unam confluebant.*

Authors, as I obſerv'd already, mention only Two Hundred Sixty Five Croſs-ways in the whole Town, ſo *Pliny* ſays, and Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets. This holds Proportion with the foreſaid Number of Mills, Ovens, Bawdy-houſes, *Latrines*, and *Cloacas*. Thoſe *Compita*, or Croſs-ways, were either with Three or Four Branches. Now, at *London*, we have a great many more Croſs-ways, with Three or Four Branches, than Streets, becauſe we have Abundance of little Streets, Lanes, Alleys, Courts and Yards, which croſs the great Streets, and are great Thorough-fares and Paſſages, and the Houſes in them are numerous, and full of People. It was impoſſible there ſhould be ſo many Thorough-fares and Streets as in *London*, be-

Voſſ. Pag. 3. *Compita Regionum fuerunt ſecundum Plinium* CCLXV.

becauſe of the Multitude of Noblemens Houſes, with their Incloſures, and ſo many publick Buildings, unleſs we reckon among the Paſſages and Thorough-fares, the ſmall empty Space, about Two or Three Foot broad, which did divide every Houſe from each other, and did iſſle them, which muſt needs have taken a great Space, conſider'd all together, and conſequently made the Town and the Number of Houſes and Inhabitants much the leſſer.

The ſmall Number of their Bridges, City Gates, High-ways and Regions, ſhews alſo that there could not be ſo much People.

The great Number of Palaces, Churches, Fields, *Thermes*, Piazzas, and other empty Spaces, whereof I ſhall take Notice in another Place, did hinder alſo the Town from being ſo populous. * Some of their magnifying Authors complain that the Houſes of ſome Senators were as big as Cities; as likewiſe that ſome of their *Thermes*, or Publick Baths, were as large as Provinces.

* *Ammianus* ſcribit, *Lauacra in modum Provinciarum exſtructa*

Valerius cum indignatione ait, *Anguſte ſe habitare nunc putat, cujus Domus tantum patet, quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt.*

Lipſ. p. 198. *Seneca paſſim inſrepat Ædificia laxitatem magnarum Urbium vincentia.*

If we did not take for an Hyperbole what the Poet *Martial* ſays, that in a Day of Triumph all the People of *Rome* were to be ſeen in the Street call'd *Via Flaminia* or *Triumphalis*, we ſhould have Reaſon to think that the People were but few, when he ſays, *Totaque Flaminia Roma videnda Via*; the Street might be Eight or Nine Foot broad, and was not long in the City, altho' the ſame Street was a High-way alſo in the Country, with the ſame Name. We muſt confeſs that ſuch a Street ſeems but little fit for a Triumph to paſs by; for their High-ways being ſo narrow, the Streets of the Town muſt yet have been narrower.

Lipſ. p. 216. *Sylla Legem tulit ut Feriis ſolemnibus* 30 *Seſtertios liceret inſumere; cateris Diebus ternos, terni autem nec Drachma.*

We may alſo judge, by their *Cibariæ Leges*, or Laws for regulating every Rich Man's Expences as to his Diet, even by that of *Sylla*, that *Rome* could not be very populous; for it was prohibited to ſpend above a Drachme, which is Two Pence half-penny of our Mony, every ordinary Day, unleſs it were at a Wedding or other great Feaſt; which was a Sign of Poverty under the Republick: Although *Voſſius* thinks that *Rome* under the Republick

publick did flouriſh moſt, and was richer than under the Emperors. Any body may judge by this that *Rome* was not fit to maintain great Multitudes of People; if ſuch a Thing were done at *London* it would ſpoil abundance of People. In a rich Country Luxurioufneſs becomes the Rich, and ſhould be prohibited only to the common Sort of People, who have no conſiderable Eſtates. 'Tis true, under *Auguſtus* other Laws were made, whereby the richeſt of the People were allow'd to ſpend much more, if they had a mind to do it.

Voſſ. p. 3. *Si itaque inquiramus Tempus quo maxima & florentiſſima fuerit Civitas Romana non male hoc, ut exiſtimo, referemus ad illos Annos qui proximè Dictaturam Sylla præceſſerunt.*

They had alſo a Law, whereby Women were reſtrain'd from talking with Men in publick; which did exclude all Women, at once, from buying or ſelling any thing, and from driving any Trade. Such a Law would be very prejudicial in *London*, and would not pleaſe the Women at all, nor does it agree with the Opinion of a great Trade and Populouſneſs.

They did not value Women, who, being Widows, marry'd a ſecond time; this would not pleaſe our Women neither: And tho' there was no Law

Law againſt it, yet that Cuſtom was a little againſt Propagation alſo.

Their Authors do only mention Nine or Ten Streets that were any thing conſiderable, and I do not believe that their beſt Streets were comparable to the middle ſort of ours, either for Length, or Breadth, or Uniformity of Houſes: But only they had, here and there, ſome fine publick Building, or Nobleman's Houſe, or Piazza. *Georgius Fabritius* gives
Pag. 267. an Account of their other great Streets beſides *Via Appia*, to the Number of Eleven, *viz. Via ſacra*, *Via nova*, *Via nova alia*, *Via lata*, *Via alta*, *Via recta*, *Via fornicata*, *Via ſuburana*, *Via Piſcinaria*, *Via Triumphalis* or *Flaminia*, *Via Ælia*. I obſerve that there was none call'd *Via longa*, or the long Street.

Had *Rome* been as populous as is thought, 'tis not likely that *Cæſar* would have ſo much admir'd the Populouſneſs of *England*, when he came there: He ſays, in his Commentaries, he ſaw an infinite Multitude of People; which, by the by, does not agree at all with the Syſtem of thoſe who fancy that, in the Time of our Sa-

Saviour, there were not above Three Hundred and Sixty Thouſand Souls in *England*.

If there had been as much People in *Rome* as there is at *London*, I cannot imagine how they could ſupply that Town with Fire-wood; for altho' the Country is not ſo cold as *England*, yet they wanted Fire as well as we do, to bake their Bread, and dreſs their Meat; and they conſum'd a world of it in their hot Baths, which were us'd generally both in Winter and Summer. They were alſo oblig'd to keep a conſtant Fire in the Winter againſt the Cold, as well as we do; and ſometimes the Cold is ſharper at *Rome* than it is in *England*. *Horace* ſhews it was ſharp enough in the Winter time, when he ſays, *Ode* IX.

Vides ut alta ſtet nive candidum
Soracte, nec jam ſuſtineant onus
Sylvæ laborantes, geluque
Flumina conſtiterint acuto:
Diſſolve Frigus ligna ſuper Foco
Largere ponens, &c.

I have ſhewn already that their River was very troubleſom, and unfit to ſupply them ſufficiently with Wood, and other bulky Materials, if the Town had been ſo very populous: And we cannot but acknowledge that *Paris* (altho' a ſmall City in Compariſon of *London*) buys its Wood always at a very dear Rate, notwithſtanding the Benefit it enjoys of ſo many good Rivers, which do convey it thereunto from many Provinces of the Kingdom; and yet, for all that, Fuel is at all times four or five times as dear as at *London*.

'Tis commonly believ'd in *England*, or at leaſt 'tis ſaid ſo, that were it not for Sea-coals, *London* could never be ſupply'd ſufficiently with Firewood, notwithſtanding the admirable River of *Thames*, and the innumerable Multitude of Ships and Seamen, which, were it neceſſary, might fetch it from all the Coaſts, where they would gather it from all Parts of the Kingdom, by means of the Rivers that run thro' every Province. Certain it is, that Fuel would be extraordinary dear at *London*, were it not for the ſaid Sea-coals; and if all other

other Proviſions were as dear at *London*, as they muſt needs have been at *Rome*, ſuppoſing it to have been ſo populous, *London* in a few Years would loſe the Three Parts in Four of its Inhabitants; which would be unavoidable, if the Sea-port, River, Ground, Air, Waters, and High-ways were not better, and the Carriage of all Things as dear.

It is not likely that they had ſuch a Multitude of Ships and Sea-men in *Italy*, and even in all their Streights, to provide *Rome* with all Neceſſaries, as we have in *England*; no, nor the Tenth Part neither. Believe me, they had but few Sea-men then; but ſuppoſe they had been moſtly ſupply'd by Sea with all ſorts of Proviſions, what if the Storms had ruin'd their Fleets of Merchant-men, or the Enemies and Pirats taken 'em? If the ſame be objected to us, we anſwer, our River, Country, and High-ways are a great deal better than thoſe of *Rome*; and can ſupply us with all ſorts of Proviſions from the Country, much more conveniently and abundantly, than they could be ſupply'd at *Rome*.

I shall shew, in its proper Place, that their Nobility and Gentry were generally poor, in Comparison of ours, altho' some were very rich.

We read not a Word in the ancient Authors of the Use of the Post-Office, and much less of the Penny-Post-Office, nor of the Use of Bills of Exchange, nor of Hackney-Coaches at *Rome*, which are Things so necessary in populous and trading Countries and large Towns. I have read indeed somewhere that *Artaxerxes* (sirnamed *Mnemon*) instituted Post-Horses in his Dominions, and he flourish'd about *A. U. C.* 360. The Question is, whether an Invention of such a general Use was for so many Years confin'd to *Persia*, and not diffus'd afterwards thro' the *Roman* Empire, and consequently us'd in *Italy*?

The *Spartans* had their *Hemerodromi*.

These Two Things have been objected to me by a very Learned Man, who saw this Manuscript of mine, which I am now publishing.

To this I answer, That Post-Horses in *Artaxerxes*'s time were probably for no other Use than they are in *China*

China at this Day, where the Emperor makes uſe of them only for his private Affairs, *viz.* to carry his Orders to the Governors of Provinces and Cities, and for nothing elſe, as *Lewis le Comte* tells us in his Account of *China*; the Merchants and Traders get no Advantage by them: And Trade to be ſure was not very great in *Perſia* in *Artaxerxes*'s time. As for the Ἡμεροδρόμοι, or Day-runners of the *Spartans*, the Word it ſelf ſhews that their Poſtilions were quite different from ours; the Word ſignifies either that they did run only in the Day time, or only One Day, and 'tis like they made no Uſe of Horſes for that purpoſe: As we have ſeen in many Provinces of *Portugal* and *Spain*, and other Countries, where they have no other Couriers but Foot-pads, who march only One Day, and then leave the Packet to another, who marches alſo another Day, and ſo does the next Day another Foot-pad, 'till the Packet arrives where they intend it ſhould be brought to. And the ſhort Dominions and Trade of *Sparta* were not conſiderable enough to require Poſt-Horſes.

How-

However it be, 'tis plain by the *Roman* Hiſtory that they had no Poſt-Horſes at *Rome*, not only becauſe there's not the leaſt mention made of it by all their Authors, but becauſe their Carriers or Poſtilions, as you ſhall pleaſe to call them, were call'd *Tabellarii*, from the Tables they carry'd, either of Wood cover'd with Wax, or any other ſuch Material, upon which the *Romans* wrote their publick Acts, Statutes, and Inſtruments or publick Writings; *Tabellarius* ſignifies a Carrier of ſuch Tables. They did write afterwards in Palm-tree Leaves; private Letters at laſt in fine Linnen or Wax. They wrote with an Inſtrument of Steel or Iron, having a ſharp Point, and afterwards us'd a Bone. The Uſe of Paper was not known then; they us'd alſo Rinds of Trees, and did likewiſe write in great Leaves made of that Ruſh *Papyrus* growing in *Egypt*, from whence our Word Paper. They made uſe alſo of Parchment *. I ſhall ſhew hereafter that Trade in all the *Roman* Empire was very ſmall.

I do not ſo much as read any thing of Carriers from *Rome* to other Towns or

* *Vide* Tho. Goodwin *in his* Anthologia Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, *pag.* 229.

or Cities in *Italy*, which are ſo neceſſary alſo in populous and trading Countries, and ſo common among us, that there are ſometimes Three or Four every Week going from one Town to the other; and in truth, it was impoſſible for them to practiſe it, ſince their High-ways were ſo improper for it, as we have ſeen. Can you ſuppoſe that Eight or Nine Hundred Carriers had come to *Rome* every Week from the Country, beſides Coaches, Pack-horſes, and Travellers, Thouſands of other Carts laden with Proviſions every Day, and Droves of Cattle, *&c.* as there are coming every Week and Day to *London*, and going back again to the Country; how could that poſſibly be, their High-ways being ſo inconvenient and narrow, as repreſented already? I find indeed ſomething of a *Treck-ſchuyt* or Draw-Boat in *Horace*, wherein he repreſents to us that he went from *Rome* to *Aricia* and *Forum Appium*, which is only a good Day's Journey from *Rome*, and gives us ſuch a Deſcription of that Carriage, and of the Inn where they lodg'd, that a Man cannot have any great O-

pinion of *Rome*, and of its Riches or Policy, when he reads it. By what he says, we may see that the Boat was not well regulated, that the Carrier or Skipper was unruly, and that the Inn in that Town, which was so near *Rome*, and at the End of a Day's Journey, was very mean, and ill provided with Necessaries. We must believe it was the best Inn in that Town, for *Horace* was a Voluptuary, and a considerable Man, as being the Favourite of *Mæcenas*, and a *Tribunus Militum*, a Collonel at least. It was along *Via Appia*, the greatest Road about *Rome*, and the most frequented. Certainly the Carriages and Inns about *Paris* and *London* are much more convenient, and better regulated, especially in Market-Towns; as also the *Treck-schuyts* ot Draw-Boats in *Holland*, and even upon the less considerable Roads, and they are not reduc'd to One, as *Rome* was; and you may be provided every where with good Accommodation.

Horace Serm. Lib. 1. Sat. 5. *Egressum magnâ me excepit Aricia Româ*

Ho-

Hoſpitio modico, &c. *inde Forum Appî*
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis, &c.
Hic ego propter Aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
Indico bellum, &c.
Tum Pueri Nautis, Pueris convicia Nautæ
Ingerere, huc appelle. Trecentos inſeris, ohe!
Jam ſatis eſt. Dum æs exigitur, dum mula ligatur
Tota abit Hora. Mali Culices, Ranæque paluſtres
Avertunt Somnos. Abſentem cantat Amicam
Multâ prolutus vappa nauta, atque Viator
Certatim. Tandem feſſus dormire Viator
Incipit: Ac miſſæ paſtam retinacula Mulæ
Nauta piger ſaxo religat, ſtertitque ſupinus.
Jamque Dies aderat, quum nil procedere Lintrem
Sentimus: Donec cerebroſus proſilit unus
Ac mulæ Nautæque Caput lumboſque ſaligno

Fuſte dolat. Quarta vix demum exponimur Hora, &c.

This gives us alſo a very mean Idea of *Rome*.

If Ancient *Rome* had conſum'd as much Cattle as *London* does, all *Italy* would hardly have been able to ſupply it with a ſufficient Quantity: And what if it had contain'd Fourteen Millions of People, as *Voſſius* ſays?

We ſee that Fiſh is always pretty dear at *London*, dearer than Fleſh, altho' there are Thouſands of Fiſhermen, many Fiſh-markets, an admirable River, or rather many Rivers about it, for Freſh-water Fiſh, and the Sea at hand, beſides what dry and ſalted Fiſh is brought from far by Sea and Land unto it. We know by Hiſtory that the People of *Rome* did eat abundance of it, which as 'tis a Sign that 'twas cheap and plentiful, ſo is it a Sign alſo that the People of *Rome* were not ſo numerous as ours are.

Some are apt to ſay that the Country about *Rome* was an Hundred times more populous and fruitful than it is at preſent, and that we muſt not judge of Ancient *Rome* and the adja-

cent

cent Country by what we ſee at preſent; that the Papacy has depopulated that Country, and that Popery lays waſte all Countries where it bears Sway. I grant all this; but I ſay, that altho' the Pope and all his Prieſts were deſtroy'd, and that the Emperor ſhould have turn'd out the Tyrant, and reſide there himſelf with all his Court, with Forty Millions Sterling Revenue, and ſhould repeople all the Country about *Rome*, which the Papal Tyranny has depopulated, ſhould promote and encourage Diligence, Induſtry, Chaſtity, and Matrimony, inſtead of the abominable Idleneſs and other horrid Vices introduc'd by the Prieſts, and did maintain Thirty or Forty Thouſand Soldiers for his ordinary Guard; and altho' all his Court was as numerous and rich as that of the Ancient Emperors; notwithſtanding all thoſe Things, I ſay, it would be impoſſible to ſubſiſt there the ſame Number of People that there is in *London*, becauſe of the bad Sea-port and River, *&c.*

They will tell us, that ſometimes, after ſome great Victory, Meat was

very cheap at *Rome*, and that an Ox was to be bought for leſs than Three Pence, becauſe they had taken great Numbers of them from the Enemy, and brought them even from *Aſia* to *Rome*; but this, inſtead of ſhewing the Populouſneſs and Riches of the Town and Country, ſhews the contrary; that it was not populous nor rich, or elſe that the People did not eat Meat, or that Mony was very ſcarce. Let us imagine that the *French*, after having conquer'd *Lorrain*, *Franchecomté*, *Naples*, or *Portugal*, ſhould have brought to *Paris* along with them Thirty Thouſand Oxen or Cows by Land or Sea, as a Booty from theſe Provinces, and ſold them at *Paris* for Three Pence a piece, every body would ſay they took great Pains for almoſt nothing: This would prejudice mightily the Farmers and Graſiers about *Paris*, and would diſable the conquer'd Country from paying the Tributes or Subſidies; however it ſhews rather Poverty and Depopulation than any other Thing.

Lipſ. p. 217. *Bello Mithridatico Lucullus prædas à Ponto egit tam abundantes ut Bos una Drachma venalis eſſet*, that is, Two Pence half-penny of our *Engliſh* Mony; this ſeems incredible.

Suppoſe *Rome* had been oblig'd to have for its Trade ſuch a quantity of Ships, great or ſmall, that might have made

made up in capacity the ſame number of Tuns as thoſe belonging to *London* do; where ſhould they have taken the Timber, Iron, Hemp, Pitch and Tar to ſet them up? We do not hear that there was in *Italy* any conſiderable Sea-Town for Shipping to ſerve their City. We ſhould be here at a great Loſs for Timber, Hemp, and Iron, if it was not for the Northern Countries, which do ſupply us with them.

We obſerv'd already that the Air of *Rome* was unhealthy, becauſe it was expos'd to the South, *Auſtro objecta & Cœli aliquanto gravioris*, as the Authors ſay; as alſo becauſe of the *Lacunes*, and marſhy Ground about *Rome*, which *Horace* did denote to us, when he ſaid, that the Frogs and Gnats did diſturb his Sleep; *Mali Culices, Ranæque paluſtres, avertunt Somnos.*

The Situation of *London* has, beſides Air, another great Advantage above *Rome*, which is, that being placed further in the Land, it may be more abundantly provided with Proviſions from the Country, and may beſides communicate to the ſame

a great many more Commodities, both foreign and of its own, than *Rome* did. And its Remoteneſs from the Sea does not prejudice it in the leaſt, becauſe the Ships are ſafe in it, and the Tide can bring the greateſt Veſſels to it in leſs than Twenty Four Hours.

Let them ſay what they will concerning the Soil or Ground about *Rome*, I affirm that the Ground of *London*, Fifty Miles about it, is much fruitfuller and better than that of *Rome* was, and produces more Hay and Graſs, and conſequently there's more Cattle, and Dung to dung Gardens and Lands with. All theſe Things do contribute much towards making a City populous. The Ground about *Rome* was barren, as is obſerv'd by Authors and Travellers. *Franciſco Bocchi*, an *Italian* Author, confirms the ſame, when he ſays, *Il Terreno Vicino a Roma poco abondante & ſterile*, pag. 121.

London is naturally the fitteſt City in all *England* for Trade. It was not ſo of Old *Rome*, in reſpect of *Italy*: Although we hear of no famous Town for Trade in that Country; but we have

have ſeen that Ships of conſiderable Bulk could not come at it; and their Men of War never came to *Oſtia*, the Port was too ſhallow and full of Sand and Mud for ſuch Ships.

Rome did never enjoy, even under the Republican Government, a greater Liberty, or ſo great as the People of *London* do; of whom we may ſay, that they ſee and feel the Extreams of Liberty; *Quid prius & quid ultimum ſit in Libertate.* I obſerve this, becauſe Liberty and Property are of great Conſequence for populating Towns.

The Impoſitions, both under the Republick and the Emperors, but eſpecially under the latter, were exceſſive; which does in no manner help towards populating a Town, and they were ſo much the harder, that Trade and Manufactures were at a low Ebb. In *London* they are very few and light to bear in time of Peace, and very moderate even in time of War: And the poor People, either in War or Peace, pay nothing at all; whereas it was not ſo at *Rome*. If there was a general Exciſe in *London* upon all things, as there was at *Rome*,

Rome, the Numbers of the People would mightily decreaſe: Some would go to the Plantations, ſome to *Ireland*, others into the Country, and few would come from the Country to ſettle in *London*.

It muſt be conſider'd alſo, that the greateſt Part of the People of *Rome* were Slaves, or *Liberti*, or *Libertini*; that is, made free by their Maſters, and deſcended from ſuch, which implies that they were generally poor, and could ſpend little; a thing not proper to render a City flouriſhing. Such People are very uſeful in the Country, but pernicious to Tradeſmen, Handicrafts, and Shop-keepers in Towns; becauſe they either do their own Work, or at leaſt ſpend almoſt nothing, eſpecially at *Rome*, where they were pitifully cloath'd, and worſe fed; but the truth is, the moſt part of their Slaves were at their Country Houſes, and the narrow Streets of *Rome* did not allow them to keep ſo many in Town for their Attendance.

The little Eſteem the *Romans* had generally for the Common People of *Rome*, was not fit to make it very popu-

populous. The Four Tribes of the City were called *Urbanæ*, but the XXXI Tribes of the Country were call'd *Ingenuæ*, as being reputed more noble and ingenuous, ſo that the great Men deſir'd to be liſted among them.

They did not value Shop-keepers, Citizens, and Tradeſmen; and altho' Merchants were more valu'd than thoſe other ſorts of People, yet they were not in ſuch Eſteem as they are among us. So *Bocchi* tells us. They did value moſt ſuch as were addicted to Agriculture, or Husbandry, or to the Military Art. This was not fit neither to make the City populous. It had been a great piece of Imprudence in that Government, to ſuffer ſuch a vaſt Number of idle People, as our Authors pretend, in a Place that was not fit for Trade at all.

The rich People among the *Romans* could eaſily maintain many more Servants than we do, becauſe both Maſters and Servants or Slaves were generally much leſs debauch'd, ſoberer, frugaler, chaſter, and modeſter than we are. Our rich People ſpend more ſeveral ways, than they did about their Pleaſures, either lawful or un-

unlawful. Our Lackeys at this day, and Servant-Maids, are better cloathed and feed higher than the *Roman* Knights or Senators themſelves. But after all, this Luxurioufneſs, even in ſuch ſort of People, is a great deal more proper to enrich and people a City, than the general Parſimony and Frugality of the *Romans*; altho' there have been ſome few noted alſo among them for great Extravagancies of that kind; but in general they were extreamly frugal, eſpecially in the Common-wealth's time, becauſe poor.

They had no Manufactures almoſt in that Town, as I ſaid, which is contrary to Riches and Populouſneſs. For many Ages they were ſo poor that they did live moſt upon Pap, *pultes* and *farra*; hence it is that *Plautus* calls them *Pultiphagos*. I ſhall ſhew in the next Chapter, when I ſpeak of their Riches, that they ſeem to have been very poor before the Emperors.

Lipſ. p. 208. *Plinium & Plautum teſtes habemus Populum Romanum per aliquot Secula non niſi farre & pulte vulgo uſum.*

They had but very few Markets in compariſon with us, *viz.* Nine or Ten, and among them but One for Meat. That for Ox Fleſh, call'd *Boarium*;

arium; One for Hogs Fleſh, or the *Suarium*; One for Fiſh, or the *Piſcarium*; One for Herbs, or the *Olitorium*. I have ſaid ſomewhat concerning that in the Chapter of the Extent: It may ſerve alſo to clear the Point of the Populouſneſs of the two Cities, *London* and *Rome*.

We find in *London* above Thirty Slaughter-houſes extreamly well furniſh'd with all Sorts of Meat, and almoſt as many Fiſh-Markets, either in a body of Market-place, or ſcatter'd up and down in a great many Streets.

Rome was in the Form of a Bow, as I obſerv'd already, whereof the River was the String; which is not a Figure very capable, and it ſhews and confirms at the ſame time what we have ſaid concerning the little Advantage they receiv'd from their River, and that there was not much Trading; for ſuppoſe the River had been ſo very uſeful, why did not they build Houſes on both Sides of the River, all along it, rather than to live ſo far from it. 'Tis certain that there were but few Houſes in the *Tranſtiberine* Region, in compariſon with the reſt of the Town, and that they

they were always in fears of being overflow'd and drowned by that ſilly River.

The Authors who make *Rome* of ſo great Extent, and ſo prodigiouſly populous, ſhew themſelves deſtitute of Judgment, in owning that it had that Figure, *viz.* of a Bow; and that the greateſt Part of it was ſo far from the River, and that the Town had ſo few Bridges upon it, ſo few Gates, ſo few Regions, and ſo few Hills, *&c.*

I have ſaid already, that the Fleets of the *Romans* ſtood in Places remote from *Rome*, becauſe the Port was not fit for them, which was alſo contrary to the Peopling of that Town; for no Body is ignorant how many Hundreds and Thouſands of Families do live and ſubſiſt by the Neighbourhood of ſuch great Fleets; I dare ſay, that there are above Fifteen or Twenty Thouſand People about *London*, who get their Livelihood, more or leſs, by our Fleet, and Men of War ſtanding in the Proximity of it, by their furniſhing the ſame with all ſorts of Materials and Proviſions, and by the building

or

or repairing of Ships, or by lodging and feeding their Officers and Seamen when at Land, beſides the great conveniency which reſults from thence, both for the Government, and for the Sailors and Merchants Ships, who are thereby provided continually with Convoys. 'Tis well known that the *Roman* Fleets did ſtand at *Ravenna* in the *Adriatick*, at *Mycene* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, in *Foro Julii in Gallia Narbonenſe*, and in *Ponto* in *Aſia*, all Places very remote from *Rome*; whereas our *Engliſh* Navy are either in the *Thames* or in the *Downs*, or in *Shereneſs* or *Chatham*, or about *Portſmouth*, all Places not very much diſtant from *London*.

All that might be granted in Point of Populouſneſs to the City of *Rome* is, that it might have had as much People as *Milan* or *Naples* have at this Day; and I can hardly believe that it could have more than any of theſe Cities has, eſpecially *Naples*, which is the beſt peopled of the two.

We muſt rather argue, in ſuch Matters, from the Principles I have already

ready ſet down in the beginning of this Chapter, or from the Number and Height of Houſes, Streets, Market-places, Trades, than from what unjudicious Authors tell us at random, who contradict themſelves, and lead their Readers into numberleſs Errors.

Nardini tells us, after *Donatus* and *Publius Victor*, that there were not above Forty Two or Forty Six Thouſand Houſes, and that they were but One Story high, and that the People did lodge upon the Plain, which is to ſay, that they had no upper Rooms.

The People did not lodge in Cellars, as a great many do at *London*, becauſe the River did often ſwell to a prodigious height, and overflow all, and even overturn the greateſt of their Publick Buildings, as appears by theſe Verſes of *Horace*;

Vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
Littore Etruſco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum Monumenta Regis
Templaque Veſtæ.

which ſhews alſo, that that City was not well ſituated at all.

Lipſius

Lipſius thinks that the Houſes of the common People might be generally about Seventy Foot high, and that before *Auguſtus*'s Time they were higher, but that this Emperor did reſtrain their former way of building Houſes ſo high to Seventy Foot; and he ſays that *Nero* did the ſame after the Fire of *Rome*, and that their Houſes were more Capacious and Handſomer than ours, and generally of a far better Structure; and their Roof in Form of a Tortoiſe-ſhell, and not narrow like ours, which takes of their Capaciouſneſs as well as their Handſomneſs. But that there were many Houſes, eſpecially the Publick ones, much above that Height, and that the Houſes of the People could not be leſs than Four or Five Stories high.

Lipſ. *p.* 184. *Auguſtus Princeps cum ambitionem in ædificando videret atque altè attollendo, &c. coercuit, & 70 pedes definivit in modo ædificiorum. Nero hoc ipſum poſtea ſecutus, &c. Hic ambitione impulſus urbem incendit ut novam melioremque repararet, &c. Si vulgo ædes omnes ſeptuagenum pedum, ſatis conſpicua ea altitudo præſertim ubi tecta compluviata aut teſtudinata, quod ſæpe. Noſtra hæc pectinata, & in anguſtum ſurgentia, aliquid de dignitate minuunt, ſed & capacitatem tollunt. In tali autem altitudine quid minus quam quaterna aut quina cænacula quorum frequentia ſtudebant, &c. Multæ ædes, & in primis omnes publicæ extra hanc legem fuerunt, viz. altiores.*

Voſſius was alſo in the ſame Sentiment, that their Houſes were higher, and had more Stories than ours; and that *Auguſtus*, and after him *Nero*, or-

Voſſ. p. 33. & 34. *Romæ altiores & plurium contignationum fuiſſe domos, quam noſtra*

order'd the Houſes ſhould not exceed the Height of Seventy Foot; and concludes from thence, that ſuch a vaſt Town full of Houſes of that Height could not hold leſs than Fourteen Millions of People.

ſieri ſoleant Ætate. Sublimitatem Domuum coercuit Auguſtus & poſtea Nero modum Ædificiorum ſtatuentes LXX *pedum altitudinem.*

Now is not this a Contradiction to what both Authors ſay, that *Auguſtus* caus'd the City to be built much more magnificent than it was before, and to their approving of what he ſaid, that he had found *Rome* all of Bricks, and did leave it of Marble. *Marmoream ſe relinquere, quam lateritiam inveniſſet.* What Proportion was there between ſuch a City all of Marble, with ſuch ſtately Houſes, as they pretend they were before *Auguſtus*, and their pitiful Streets, which were rather like Alleys than Streets, and their Theatres and Amphitheatres which were all of Wood before *Auguſtus*; and even in *Julius Cæſar*'s Time ſome were built with Wood, as *Lipſius* himſelf owns. Who ſhould have paid the Rent of ſuch vaſt Houſes, ſince the Nobility and Gentry did inhabit their own *Domus* and Palaces, and there was no Trade at *Rome*, and the People were

Lipſ. p. 187.

P. 128. *Amphitheatra ante tempore Auguſti temporanea primum & e Ligno.*

Ibid. *Cæſar ipſe Julius jam Dictator Amphitheatrum Ligneum exſtruxit.*

were generally poor, as I ſhall ſhew at large.

Voſſius owns that the Streets were enormous before *Auguſtus* and *Nero's* Time, and that after *Nero* had burnt the City, it was made up much finer. Who would not think that ſuch a City, where the Peoples Houſes were generally Seventy Foot high and above, and the Roofs of the Houſes ſo curious, as our Authors pretend, was a fine City.

Voſſ. pag. 6. *Auguſtus & Nero Vicos qui antea enormes erant direxerunt.* Pag. 36. *Ex incendio Neronis pulchrior prodiit Roma.*

Nardini contradicts what theſe Authors ſay concerning the Height of the Houſes; *La Gente habitava in piano*, the People did live upon the Ground-Floor, ſays he. He contradicts alſo what they ſay of the Statelineſs of the Houſes of the People, and tells us they were extraordinary mean. He confirms what *Voſſius* ſaid that the Streets were difform, *Le ſtrade erano diſtortæ*; and Reaſon ſhews us the Houſes could not be otherwiſe than low, ſince the Streets were ſo narrow; or elſe the Streets and the Houſes muſt have been very dark and unhealthy, nor would the Streets have been able to hold ſo great a Multitude of People as there would

Nardini p. 24.

have been, and much leſs the great Number of Horſes, Cárts, and Porters, which are requiſite to carry all Neceſſaries, where the Houſes are ſo thick and high. How ſhould it be poſſible to rebuild old high Houſes in ſuch narrow Streets? Where would the Materials ſtand? And then if any of their Houſes had fallen, it would have damag'd the oppoſite Houſe. I confeſs I cannot well conceive how their Houſes could have been ſo high, and the Town very populous, ſeeing the Streets were ſo narrow, as not to bear ſo much as Two of our Carts a-breaſt; I do not know how they could carry heavy Burthens about Town, they muſt either have had very narrow Carts and Sledges, or have done it by Hand-work. And truly I cannot imagine how they did carry their great Stones and Columns about the Town.

Authors ſay that the *Septizonium Severi* was look'd upon as a Wonder of Art, becauſe of its Height, it was Seven Stories high, as the Word ſhews, every Story being mark'd from without with a kind of Girdle; others pretend that they were Seven

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Galleries one upon another. That Height had not been ſo wonderful at *Rome*, if the Houſes of the People had been generally ſo high as our Authors do pretend.

Let us imagine ſuch high Houſes upon the Tops of their Hills, in ſuch narrow Streets, what Labour would it have been for the People that inhabited the upper Rooms of ſuch Houſes, to carry their Neceſſaries thither from the Markets, which were all in the Middle of the City, as all Hiſtorians do unanimouſly agree. So that thoſe who liv'd ſomewhat remote from the Markets, muſt have been extreamly fatigu'd, eſpecially if it had been ſo large as our Authors will have it; and, by the by, I ſhall obſerve here, that the Town was very ill contriv'd for a great Number of People to live in; all the Markets being in the Middle of it, the Streets ſo narrow, and the River ſo remote from the greateſt part of it: By that means the Market-places were alſo very remote from the River, which is another great Inconvenience.

Beſides that, it had been very imprudent to build ſuch vaſt Houſes in

many Places, where the River was us'd to undermine them.

The Streets are now broader, and the Houſes higher, becauſe they have found better ways to ſecure them againſt the River than they had then.

There are ſeveral old Buildings and Monuments of thoſe Times yet extant, which are ſunk prodigiouſly, as the Columns of *Trajan* and *Antonine* above-mention'd; but many others have been utterly deſtroy'd by the Water.

I do not deny but that there might be ſome Houſes Three, Four, or Five Stories high; 'tis certain their Publick Buildings and Temples were generally ſtately, and under the Emperors ſome of the Noblemens Houſes, but for the generality the Houſes of the People were low.

I will not take Notice here of the bad Waters of that River, which are always naſty and yellow, as *Horace* has deſcrib'd them in the Place above-mention'd, when he calls the *Tiber* yellow: For altho' it was a great Inconvenience, I ſhall not inſiſt much upon it, becauſe they had abundance of good Springs and Conduits which might

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, &c.

might ſerve their turn in many Parts of the City; and ſome ſay that even the *Tiber*'s Water is tolerable to drink when ſettled.

There is one Thing more to be taken notice of, which is of a very great moment in point of populating or depopulating a Country, *viz.* Religion. Now the Religion of the *Romans*, if we may call it ſo, was not ſo proper and advantagious for the populating of a great Town as the Chriſtian Religion is; altho' I confeſs that it was far better for that purpoſe, or not ſo contrary to it, as Popery, which has ſubjected Nations to a foreign Tyrant, and an Uſurper's Yoke. I mean the Pope, who plunders and impoveriſhes them continually, by his Tricks, Tyranny, Cruelty, Perfidiouſneſs, Impoſtures, and Cheats, and by the innumerable Armies of his idle, vicious, and ravenous Clergy. The old *Romans* were very ignorant in Matters of Religion, and idolatrous as well as the Papiſts; but there was not ſuch an horrid Tyranny practis'd upon Conſciences as in Popery, and ſuch Cruelty againſt the Diſſenters in point

of Worſhip, and their Morals did not countenance Perfidiouſneſs and Barbarity, as well as Sodomy, for the Intereſt of their *Summus Pontifex*, or of his Clergy. We cannot tax the Religion of the old *Romans* with many great Political Miſchiefs, whereas that of the Papiſts does cauſe many ſuch, to the Deſolation and Ruin of the Popiſh Nations, and even of the Proteſtants in great meaſure, by its pernicious Influences, and its continual Tricks and Plots againſt 'em, as I could demonſtrate here, if it was not out of our Subject. Now I find only Three or Four Things, wherein the Ignorance of the old *Romans* was of pernicious Conſequence to the Publick. Firſt, In reſpect of their Gladiators, which was an abominable thing, for by that means they deſtroy'd every Year ſeveral Thouſands of Men to no purpoſe, wherein they did ſhew great Inhumanity, and Ignorance of the Value of Men in a Nation. At firſt indeed they pretended to expiate the Sins of their dead Friends by Sacrifices of Men, and appeaſe the Gods by the Immolation of thoſe Victims; but

but by degrees, the brutiſh People taking Delight in ſuch Executions, the Senate and great Men in the time of the Republick made it a Diverſion for the Rabble, and the Emperors afterwards caus'd many more of thoſe poor Creatures to be butcher'd every Year, for diverting the People: For 'twas obſerv'd that ſome Years above Twenty Thouſand were put to Death for their Sport. The Emperor *Conſtantine* was the firſt who put an End to theſe Diabolical Paſtimes, but *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* reſtored them again, and at laſt *Honorius* did aboliſh them for ever. We might alſo tax their Religion, or rather Ignorance, with the execrable Crime of Sodomy, which was almoſt as common amongſt the old *Romans* as 'tis now among the Clergy at *Rome*. We might likewiſe tax their Religion, or Ignorance, with their boundleſs Ambition, Pride and Injuſtice, in endeavouring to bring all the World under their Yoke, and being the univerſal Uſurpers of Kingdoms and States, as far as their Arms could reach.

If we except thoſe Three or Four Heads, I do not obſerve that their Reli-

Religion was any ways more prejudicial to the Publick, in reſpect of the Temporal, than that of the Chriſtians, I mean the Proteſtants, as they practiſe it generally, but only in this, that the Idolatry, which they were guilty of, is the greateſt of Sins before God's Eyes; but politically ſpeaking, one may ſay in that Caſe, Let the Puniſhment of it be left to God; as they us'd to ſay, *Deorum injuriæ Diis curæ.* I own they had alſo too many Prieſts of different Orders, as the Papiſts have, who follow their Example and Religion in a great many Points. For altho' they were marry'd, and were nothing near ſo miſchievous to the Publick as Popiſh Eccleſiaſticks are, yet they did alſo cheat and impoſe upon the People, to rob them of their Mony and Eſtates. They had too many of 'em, as for Example, their great and ſmall Prieſts, *Pontifices majores & minores*, under a great many Names, as *Salii*, *Titii*, *Fæciales*, *Aruſpices*, *Augures*, *Fratres Arvales*, *Curiones*, from whence the Word *Curates*, *Potitii*, *Pinarii*, *Pullarii*, *Capnomantes*, the *Duumviviri*, *Decemviri*, *Quindecimviri*, *Gal-*

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li the Prieſts of *Cybele*, *Lupercales Pontifices*, *Herculis Sacerdotes*, &c. every God or Goddeſs almoſt had their ſpecial Prieſts: That ſort of Men, amongſt all Idolaters, is the worſt ſort of Men. However, God be thanked, we do not practiſe here at *London* thoſe Crimes of ſuffering Men to be murther'd with Impunity and for Diverſion, as they did at *Rome*; nor allow Liberty for the execrable Crime of Sodomy, as they did, which is againſt Population, and muſt certainly have done great Prejudice to their City: We are not guilty neither of that pernicious and reſtleſs Ambition of conquering all the World, as they were; and the Chriſtian Religion abhors that Injuſtice: Neither have we ſuch a vaſt Number of Eccleſiaſticks, and thoſe we have are not miſchievous to the Publick, as theirs were.

So that, by what has been ſaid, any body may ſee that there were great Reaſons, why *Rome* could never grow ſo populous as *London* now is. But an Objection will be made here.

That

That the Head City of the greateſt Empire that ever was, muſt needs have been, for that very Reaſon, the greateſt City in the World. But this is a Miſtake, for very often there are ſome Cities in a Nation bigger than that which is the Head of them, or the Prince's Reſidence: Becauſe this depends chiefly upon the Trade, Situation, River, Air, Sea-port, Ground, *&c.* The Example of ſeveral Countries in *Europe* ſhews us the contrary of what they imagine. *France* is a Kingdom of a much larger Extent than *England*, and yet its Head City, *Paris*, is much inferior in Bigneſs to *London*. There are ſeveral Cities in *Europe* bigger than the Head City of their Country; *Meſſina* is bigger than *Palermo*, the Capital of *Sicily*: *Dantzick* in *Poland* than *Cracow*, the Capital of that Kingdom: And *Rome* Modern, which may be look'd upon as the Head of a very great Empire, (I mean, the Pope's Spiritual Empire, and is the Head of all *Italy* under that Notion, as well as of many other Popiſh Countries) is leſſer than *Naples*, *Milan*, and *Venice*, as to the Number of Inhabitants; altho'

altho' the Pope, who lives there, has greater Revenues by much, than either the Territory of *Venice*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the Dutchy of *Milan* yields, or than any other *Italian* Prince has, and his Court is more numerous and richer than that of any of the other *Italian* States.

Every body knows that *Naples* and *Milan*, which are both depending upon the Monarchy of *Spain*, are much more populous than *Madrid* is, becauſe of their being fitter for Trade; the one being ſituated near the Sea, in a good Ground, and admirable Air; and the other enjoying alſo the Benefit of a very fruitful Land, and of many Rivers or convenient Channels of Water: And altho' *Madrid* was the Head City of the whole Univerſe, and the *Spaniards* had ſubdu'd more Nations than the *Romans* ever did, being ſtill ſituated where it is, with ſuch a pitiful River, it could not ſubſiſt double the Number of the People that are living at preſent in it, and they would be in great danger of ſtarving ſooner or later; for at this Day the People labour very often under great Scarcity.

What

What Prudence would it be for a People to ſettle there in great Numbers, and for a Prince to aſſemble great Multitudes of People to have them ſtarv'd?

I confeſs *Rome* was, under the Emperors, the only City that made any great Figure in the World. The *Romans* had ruin'd all other great ones, and therefore had enrich'd and peopled *Rome* with their Spoils, and for that very Reaſon it ſeem'd to them ſo much the more populous, becauſe it had no Rival in the World; but for all this, it was not capable of maintaining ſo many People as *London* does, for the Reaſons before ſaid.

I ſhall give other Inſtances, to ſhew that great Courts of Princes are not capable, alone, to render a Town ſo populous. Every body knows that *Prague* in *Bohemia*, belonging to the Emperor, is much bigger than *Vienna*, and more populous, altho' the laſt is the Emperor's Reſidence; and altho' the River of *Vienna* is far bigger than that of *Prague*: The Reaſon of which is, that the *Danube* is not very fit for Trade, being too rapid, and

and cannot be ſail'd upwards for that Reaſon, and the Ground is generally much better about *Prague* than about *Vienna*.

If we believe Relations of *Cairo* in *Egypt*, which belongs to the Grand Seignior, it is more populous than *Conſtantinople*, the Reſidence of that potent Monarch, becauſe of its admirable River, and the extraordinary Fruitfulneſs of that Country of *Egypt*.

We ſee even by the Example of the ſame City of *Conſtantinople*, that a good Sea-port, good Soil, Air, and Situation, with its being the Head of a vaſt Empire, are not ſufficient to render a Town as populous as *London* is, becauſe that other important things are wanting, ſuch as Liberty and Property, Trade, Manufactures, and a good Civil Government; for it's known that their Goverment is very hard; their Religion alſo, tho' much leſs contrary to the Politick and Publick Good than Popery, is not ſo advantagious as the Proteſtant Religion.

On the contrary, we ſee by the Example of *Amſterdam*, that a Town, by

by Sea Trade, and by the help of many Rivers and Channels, Manufactures, good Government, and Religion, without its being the Capital of a State, or the Reſidence of a potent Prince, and of the chief Courts of Juſtice, or Univerſity, and without any other Territory than that of Two inconſiderable Villages, we ſee (I ſay) that *Amſterdam* is become one of the richeſt and moſt populous Towns in the whole World.

The City of *Hamburgh* likewiſe, by means of its Trade, River, Manufactures, Religion, and mild Government, is richer and more populous (tho' it has but a ſmall Territory of Twenty or Thirty Villages belonging to it) than *Madrid* or *Vienna*, becauſe *Hamburgh* enjoys the Benefit of a Sea-Trade by its excellent River of a long Courſe, with a good Religion alſo, and a good Civil Government.

Such a River as they have enriches and peoples the Town, and ſuch a Town enriches and peoples the Country adjacent, and this laſt afterwards peoples and enriches again the Town more and more. It makes Manufactures,

nufactures, Fiſhing and Navigation to flouriſh in the City, and Husbandry in the Country; it revives Induſtry. Was it poſſible that *Hamburgh* ſhould keep its Trade and its Proſperity, with its being at the ſame time Popiſh, which I think incompatible: But if it was poſſible, in leſs than Twenty Years time it would be, if not the richeſt, at leaſt the greateſt City in all *Germany*, and become as big as *Amſterdam* is at preſent, by the Multitude of Monaſteries and Convents which would be ſet up, and would increaſe it by half in half in Extent, altho' not in Riches or Multitude of People. So great is the Advantage of a good Sea-port, and good River, as alſo good Religion and Government.

'Tis alſo for the ſame Reaſons, of the Trade and Proteſtant Religion, that *Stockholm* and *Copenhagen*, both Capital Cities of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, two Kingdoms much inferior to that of *Spain*, or the Territories poſſeſs'd by the Emperor, have as much or more People than either *Vienna* or *Madrid*; and were it not for the Monaſteries and Convents of

the two laſt, they would be twice as large in Extent as the laſt.

Paris, as we have already obſerved, is much better ſituated than *Rome*, for the Subſiſtence of a great Multitude, becauſe of its many Rivers; but without them, altho' the *French* King's Court was Three or Four Times as big as 'tis, and his Houſhold proportionably too, and that the Juriſdiction of all the Courts of Juſtice was treble to what it is, as alſo the Univerſity, and Number of Church-men and Publicans, *&c.* and that the *French* Empire was Four times as big as 'tis, there would not be the half, nor the third part of the People that there is at preſent. It's known, that notwithſtanding its Rivers, they labour very often under a great Scarcity of Proviſions. All the new Relations of *China* do tell us, that *Nankin* is bigger and more populous than the Capital of the Empire, *viz. Pekin*, becauſe this has no River nor Sea-port, and lyes in a barren Province.

They tell you alſo, that there are other Cities in the ſame Kingdom as big and populous as *Pekin*: I confeſs there

there are many Fables in those Relations, but however they are credited.

According to a Relation publish'd some Years ago by Mr. *Carr*, who was Consul at *Amsterdam* for the *English* Nation, concerning the Number of Houses in all the great Cities of *Italy*, there should be as much People in *London*, as in the Ten or Twelve biggest Cities of *Italy*. Let us suppose then that the Inhabitants of *Naples*, *Milan*, *Venice*, *Genua*, *Bologna*, *Florence*, *Turin*, and Three or Four more of the greatest Cities of *Italy*, were added to the present Inhabitants of *Rome*; how can it be imagin'd that they could subsist there, altho' all the Inhabitants of those several Countries, who do now supply all those Cities, were added to those that are already in the adjacent Country to *Rome*, to till and manure the Ground, and altho' even an Imperial Court never so numerous should reside there? I do not believe that the greatest and potentest Emperor that ever was, would be able to maintain such a vast Multitude of People in *Rome*, with all his Revenues, for Twenty Years together.

People do commonly fancy that the Nobility and Gentry of the City of *Rome*, who were numerous, ſuch as were of the Order of Senators and Knights, *Senatorii Ordinis & Equites*, and all thoſe Families who were in great Poſts, or deſcended from Dictators, Tribunes of the People, or Cenſors, Prætors, Quæſtors, Ædiles, Conſuls, Proconſuls, *&c.* People, I ſay, do fancy, that they were generally extraordinary rich, and therefore that the City was ſo much the more populous. But 'tis a very great Miſtake, as I ſhall ſhew in its proper Place: Our Nobility, Gentry, Lawyers, Merchants, Manufacturers, Tradeſmen, and thoſe who belong to the Faculty of Medicine, are generally much richer than they were at *Rome*; and had their Senators and Knights been generally richer than our Noblemen and Gentry, it would not prove that the Generality of the People would have been ſo too; for they had very few able Merchants, Tradeſmen and Shop-keepers. There was not the Fourth part of Shops, Arts, and Handicrafts, we have in *London*. If it were an eaſie Matter

to

to determine the Number of each ſort of Inhabitants in *London*, I ſhould reckon that the People addicted to theſe laſt ſorts of Trade, with their Wives, Children, and Servants, may conſtitute about Four Parts in Ten of the whole People of *London*; the Manufacturers about Two, or One and a half; the Merchants, as diſtinguiſh'd from the former, and all thoſe who are relating to Sea-Trade, or to the Trade into the Country, about Three; the Court, Noblemen, Gentry, Clergy, Lawyers, Soldiers, and the Strangers or Travellers, hardly One and a half. So that that laſt Species of People, who did compoſe with their Servants the greateſt Part of *Rome*, is the leaſt conſiderable at *London*: It was a Town and People quite different from ours, as to the Form of their Conſtitution.

For it appears, by the *Roman* Hiſtory, that Merchants were not valu'd, nor Tradeſmen, Shop-keepers or Handicraftſmen; but only Soldiers, Political Men, and Husbandmen, which were but One: For the ſame Men, call'd Citizens, were now and then either Soldiers, or Magi-

ſtrates, or Husbandmen. The Town of *Rome* was moſt compos'd of thoſe ſorts of People, in the Times both of the Common-wealth and Emperors, *viz.* Senators, Equites, Soldiers, Officers of Juſtice, Police, Finances, and the Clergy with their Families; the Retinue of all theſe People were very numerous, and for the moſt part all Slaves. There were alſo ſome few Merchants, Tradeſmen, and Shop-keepers; and ſome Strangers alſo, who came thither either out of Curioſity, or upon Buſineſs; ſome few Literate Men, and that under the Emperors only. The Arts which flouriſh'd, and that moſt under the Emperors, were Architecture, Sculpture, Carving, Joining, Gilding, the Goldſmiths and Jewellers Trades, Blackſmiths, Dancing, Muſick-maſters, and ſeveral Trades about their Games, the Stage, and their Shews and Baths; as alſo about their Arms, and concerning the War, as about what belongs to Horſe and Foot-Soldiers, Sadles, Swords, and other Arms; Bakers, Taylors, Shoemakers, Vintners, Carpenters, ſome few Seamen and Fiſhermen, ſome Wool-

Woollen or Linnen Weavers, Maſons, Cart-wrights, ſome few Ship-wrights, *&c.*

The greateſt part of Trades, Arts, and Handicrafts, us'd among us, have been invented ſince, and thoſe that were known then have been very much improv'd. For the moſt part they did live very ſoberly and frugally, even under the Emperors, altho' Vices and Luxurioufneſs increaſed. They had under the *Cæſars* more Soldiers in conſtant Pay than before, *viz.* the Pretorian Guards and ſome others.

The moſt part of Trades at *Rome* were only for the Uſe of the great ones, becauſe the Generality of the People were poor, and very ſimply lodg'd, accoutred, and fed; and 'tis certain that thoſe great People had Slaves of all Trades in their own Houſes, who work'd for them, and even for others who did hire them: Whereas almoſt all our People at *London* can live very well, either of their Revenue, or Labour and Induſtry. We have here in *London* Sixty mighty Corporations of Tradeſmen, Handicrafts and Artiſts, beſides the

Court, the Merchants, Lawyers, Phyſicians, Clergymen, Students, Nobility, Gentry, and Travellers; and I dare ſay, an Hundred very conſiderable Corporations more could be made up, of all the other Trades different from the Sixty that are eſtabliſh'd, as I could ſhew: And I dare ſay that hardly Twenty conſiderable ones could have been made in *Rome*. I find but few Trades there, and they did chiefly relate either to the Military Art, or to Architecture, Sculpture, *&c.* which Two latter were carry'd on to Perfection, becauſe they had invited or forc'd the beſt Workmen of *Aſia*, *Africa*, *Græcia*, and *Sicily*, to ſettle themſelves at *Rome*.

Rome was rather a Court-City than otherwiſe, as well under the Common-wealth as under the Emperors; and *London* is more a City of Trade than of Court, altho' the Court be very numerous and rich.

Notwithſtanding all the Magnificence and Pomp of the *Romans*, in their Publick Buildings and Shews, in the Time of the Emperors, and before, I am apt to believe that the Expences and Conſumption made in

London

London would amount to Four times as much as was made in *Rome*, and conſequently more People can live and ſubſiſt by it.

The Court, Nobility, Gentry, Military Officers, Lawyers, and all thoſe addicted to Law, Civil Government, Finances, Phyſick, Divines, and Travellers, do not ſpend the Fifth part of what is ſpent in *London*; whereas at *Rome* thoſe ſort of People did ſpend the moſt part of what was ſpent there, altho' we ſee by Hiſtory that their People of Quality did live more in their Country-houſes than in the City, eſpecially in the Time of the Common-wealth.

I have been the more prolix upon this Argument, becauſe it is the moſt plauſible of any that can be brought for the Populouſneſs of that Town: Now I muſt anſwer alſo all the other Objections that may be made upon this Subject, and omit nothing material to the Point. And when we come to examine the Riches or Poverty of the City of *Rome*, we will find other Arguments againſt its being ſo populous as 'tis generally thought.

Some

Some may object the *Luſtra* or Reviews of the People at *Rome*, which Hiſtorians take Notice of, and whereby it ſeems that the People of *Rome* were more numerous than we pretend them to have been.

I anſwer that we have no Account in any Author of the Luſtres of all the Men, Women, Children and Slaves of *Rome*, but only of all the fighting Men belonging to the Five and Thirty Tribes, who alone were called Citizens, and who every Fifth Year were oblig'd to paſs Muſter before the Cenſors, or the Tribunes of the People, in the Field of *Mars*.

And there is ſuch a prodigious Variety and Inequality in the Accounts of thoſe Luſtres, or Reviews of all the Soldiers belonging to the Thirty Five Tribes, that is, to the Thirty One Ruſtick ones, and to the Four Urbanes, that ſometimes they amount to Two, Three, or Four Hundred Thouſand Men, and an Hundred Years after, inſtead of having increaſed, they were fallen to the Half of that Number, becauſe they had been deſtroy'd in the Wars; which ſhews plainly that their Luſtres did concern only

only that ſort of People who were liſted for the War, when Occaſion ſhould require; and *Lipſius* and *Voſſius* contradict one another upon this Subject, as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

That any body may the better judge of this, I will give here the Liſt of all thoſe *Luſtra*, as we have it from *Voſſius* himſelf, whereby it will be plain that it was only the true Citizens and Soldiers of the Thirty Five Tribes who were muſter'd, and not all the Inhabitants of *Rome*.

Quando Roma fuerit maxima, & Hominum in Roma multitudo.

Ut ex Cenſibus inſtitutis & conditis Luſtris certiſſimum creſcentis Reipublicæ poteſt haberi Argumentum; ita contra eorum neglectum & ſupinas curas certiſſimum decreſcentis aut fatiſcentis Reipublicæ, fuiſſe indicium de eo dubitare nos non permittunt Scriptores antiqui: Ut itaque ſciamus quibus gradibus Urbs & Civitas Romana, ad tantam ſit provecta magnitudinem dicendum nonnihil de Cenſibus. Primum Luſtrum inſtitutum fuiſſe conſtat regnante Voſſ. p. 29, 30, &c.

nante Servio Tullio, idem quoque alia inſtituit Luſtra in quibus dicuntur cenſa Civium Millia LXXX, *&* LXXXIV.

Anno Urbis Conditæ CCXLV. *cenſa fuere Civium Millia* CXXX.

A. U. C. CCLVI. *cenſa fuere Millia Civium* CL, *& inſuper* DCC.

A. U. C. CCLX. *propter Inteſtinas Diſcordias & Seditiones, & inſuper Bella externa, reperta fuere non plura Civium Millia quam centum & decem.*

A. U. C. CCLXXIX. *cenſa fuere Millia centum & triginta.*

A. U. C. CCLXXXVIII. *cenſa Civium capita quatuor & viginti Millia, & inſuper quindecim præter orbos orbaſque, ut habet Livius.*

A. U. C. CCXCIV. *cenſa fuere Civium Millia* CXXXII, *& inſuper* CDXIX.

A. U. C. CCCLXI. *cenſa* CLII *Millia, &* DLXXX.

A. U. C. CDX. *cenſa Millia* CLX.

A. U. C. CDXXXV. *Millia* CCL.

A. U. C. CDLIX. *Millia* CCLXII.

A. U. C. CDLXXII. *Millia* CCLXXVIII, *&* CCXXII.

A. U. C. CDLXXVIII. *poſt pulſum Italia Pyrrhum cenſa fuere Millia*

lia CCLXXI, *&* CCXXIV; *unde apparet bello hoc Epirotico multos fuiſſe abſumptos cives.*

A. U. C. CDLXXXVIII. *Millia* CCXCII, *&* CCXXIV.

A. U. C. DI. *cenſa Millia* CCXCVII, *& inſuper* CCXXVII.

A. U. C. DVI. *cenſa Millia* CCLI, *&* CCXXII; *unde apparet quam multi belli Punici tempore Terra Marique perierint.*

A. U. C. DXII. *cenſa Millia* CCLX.

A. U. C. DXXXVIII. *cenſa Millia* CCIXX, *&* CCXIII.

A. U. C. DXLIV. *cenſa fuere tantum Civium Millia* CXXXVIII, *&* CVIII; *unde colligas dimidiam Romanæ civitatis partem ſecundo bello Punico pene fuiſſe abſorbtam.*

A. U. C. convocatis undique Civibus cenſa fuere Romæ Millia CCXV.

A. U. C. DLIX. *cenſa Millia* CCXLIII *&* DCCIV.

A. U. C. DLXIV. *cenſa Millia* CCLVIII, *&* CCCXXVIII.

A. U. C. DLXXIV. *cenſa Millia* CCLXIII, *&* CCXLIV.

A. U. C. DLXXIX. *cenſa Millia* CCLXIX — XV.

A. U. C. DLXXXIV. *cenſa Millia* CCCXII — DCDV.

A. U. C. DLXXXIX. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXVII, & XXII.

A. U. C. DXCIV. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXVIII — CCCXIV.

A. U. C. DXCIX. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXIV.

A. U. C. DCVI. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXII.

A. U. C. DCXI. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXVIII — DLXII.

A. U. C. DCXVII. *cenſa Millia* CCCXXXIII.

A. U. C. DCXXII. *cenſa Millia* CCCLXVII — DCDXIII.

A. U. C. DCXXVIII. *cenſa Millia* CCCXC — DCCXXXV.

A. U. C. DCXXXVIII. *cenſa Millia* CCCXCIV — CCCXXVI.

A. U. C. DCLXVII. *cenſa Millia* CCCCLXIV, *uti habet Euſebii Chronicon quamvis exemplaria nonnulla manu exarata ampliorem exhibeant numerum nempe* CCCCLXXXIII.

'Tis true, Hiſtorians mention ſome Computations of the People, which did amount to ſeveral Millions: And *Moreri* tells us in his Dictionary that *Auguſtus* found Thirteen Millions, One Thouſand and Thirty Seven Perſons,

Perſons in *Rome*; and that in *Tiberius*'s Time there were Sixteen Hundred Thouſand and Two Hundred Ninety One Men cenſed, that is, as Soldiers in *Rome*: And he adds, that there ſeems to be ſome Exaggeration in that. He is of Opinion that there were only about Four or Five Millions of People in *Rome*, and that *Rome* was about Fifty Miles in Compaſs without the Suburbs.

Lipſius ſays alſo that in *Auguſtus*'s Time Four Millions and Sixty Three Thouſand Citizens were cenſed or liſted in *Rome*; and that under *Claudius* there were Six Millions, Nine Hundred Sixty Four Thouſand cened: And that afterwards whole Cities and Regions were admitted into the City of *Rome*. But 'tis plain the ſame *Lipſius* cannot believe that himſelf, ſince he reckons only Four Millions of Souls in *Rome*, pag. 162. altho' he reckon'd indeed before as many Slaves in it; but he is full of ſuch Contradictions.

Lipſ. pag. 161, 162. *Auguſtus in Conſulatu ſuo ſexto Luſtrum condidit quo cenſita ſunt Civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia & ſexaginta tria. At etiam crevit aſſidue, & ſub Claudio Imperatore Tacitus ac fidi Authores accenſent ſexagies novies centena ſexaginta quatuor millia. Ulra quærere Supervacuum ſit, cum jam paſſim in Civitatem totæ Urbes Regioneſque receptæ.*

Voſ-

Voss. p. 29. *Quod vero Lustra attinet quæ instituit & condidit Augustus, in quibus censita fuere supra quadragies centena millia Civium Romanorum capita, illa ad rem nihil faciunt, cum non Urbis, sed Romani Imperii magnitudinem ostendant.*

Vossius says that all those *Lustra* did signifie nothing to the purpose, because they did not shew the Greatness of the Town, but that of the *Roman* Empire, that is to say, they were rather a Review of the People of the Empire, than of that of the Town.

Voss. p. 29. *Eusebius in Chronicis dicit Augustum cum Tiberio censum agitasse in quo inventa fuerint supra nonagies sexcenta & septuaginta Hominum millia. Verum de hoc amplius deliberandum censeo,* &c.

He also tells us that *Eusebius* in his Chronicles reports, that *Augustus* with *Tiberius* did take a Review of the Inhabitants of *Rome* fit to bear Arms, wherein above Nine Millions, Six Hundred and Seventy Thousand Men were found. But adds, that he believes it may be question'd.

Pag. 31. *Clarum est Civium qui Romæ versarentur, nullam apud Scriptores occurrere mentionem post recensum Cæsaris, quo redacti fuere ad 150 millium Summam.*

But in another Place he contradicts plainly all those vain and foolish Assertions, by saying, That it is evident there is no Mention made in all the Writers of the Number of the Citizens living in *Rome*, after the Review or *Census* made by *Cæsar*, wherein their Number was reduc'd to One Hundred and Fifty Thousand.

ſand. So that it appears from the Confuſion there is in the Opinion of thoſe Authors, as to thoſe *Cenſus* or Reviews of the People, that we cannot rely upon them in the leaſt.

And *Voſſius*'s Opinion ſeems to be the more depended upon as to that, that he has been very extravagant as to the Multitude of People he aſcribes to Old *Rome*, *viz.* Fourteen Millions of Souls.

Thoſe great Liſts comprehended certainly the Men of the Empire, and not of the Town, altho' 'tis certain that Computations were made alſo now and then, of all the Inhabitants of *Rome* generally, Men, Women, Children, Servants, and Slaves, and of all their Eſtates and Goods, in order to regulate their Taxes, and the Capitation accordingly. But there is no Liſt or Account of any of theſe Computations now to be found. 'Tis only known that there was ſuch a thing, but not what it was. Thoſe Memoirs are loſt, as alſo a great many others, whereby we might have had a better Knowledge of Old *Rome* than we have.

Franceſco Bocchi does confirm it, when he ſays, that the Regiſters wherein all the People of *Rome* were comprehended, *viz.* the Soldiers and true Citizens fit for the War and Civil Government, as alſo the uſeleſs People (he means Women, Children, Servants, Foreigners, Shop-keepers, Handicrafts and Tradeſmen) are all loſt, as well as the Books which took Notice of them; and we find nothing in ancient Records but what concerns the hiſtorical Liſt, which did comprehend only the Soldiers and Citizens.

Franceſco Bocchi, pag. 294. *Del Cenſo adunque del Commune, doue Tutto il Popolo Romano era compreſo, il quale contenne la gente da portar Arme & la Civile, & altreſi l'inutile, del tutto eo libri ſi è perduta la memoria, & ſolo ſi legge del Cenſo Hiſtorico, che comprendeua la gente civile & guerriera.*

And in another Place he ſays, that the World has ſuffer'd a great Loſs, in loſing ſo many noble and valuable Writings about other Things as well as thoſe, whereby we might have learn'd exactly that which we do not comprehend now, but by Conjecture.

Pag. 230, & 231. *Et ſenza dubbio è Stata gran perdita di ſcritti coſi nobili & coſi pregiati, onde chiaramente ſi poteva ſapere quello, che hoggi non ci comprende, ſe non per Conjettura.*

They may alſo object what *Euſebe* ſays, that in the Time of *Nero* there dy'd of the Plague Three Hundred Thou-

Thouſand in One Year, and under *Veſpaſian* Ten Thouſand a Day; and *Suetonius* relates that under a certain Emperor there were One Million and Four Hundred Thouſand Souls in the City.

They may ſay alſo, that when Corn, Wine and Oyl were diſtributed to the People, in the time of the Frumentations, as they call'd it, it was diſtributed to ſeveral Hundred Thouſands. *Lipſius* ſays, *pag.* 171. that before *Cæſar*'s Time their Number did exceed Three Hundred Thouſand, but that it decreas'd mightily afterwards.

I anſwer, That as to the Number of thoſe whom the Plague did ſnatch away, beſides the ordinary Aggravation in ſuch caſes, if it was exactly true, it would prove nothing, becauſe the People of the Thirty Five Tribes were comprehended amongſt that of the City, as we ſhall ſee, and was the greateſt Part of it.

I ſay the ſame as to the Frumentations; the Thirty Five Tribes were concerned in them, they did conſtitute the City of *Rome*, as well as the Inhabitants of *Rome* it ſelf, and were

in its Neighbourhod. And we have no Account alſo of theſe Frumentations, as is eaſily perceiv'd by the blind and uncertain Account *Lipſius* gives of them; all thoſe Memoirs are loſt.

Lipſius ſays that all the Soldiers in the City were Partakers of theſe Frumentations, and all the Court with all the People who did belong to it; as alſo all the Soldiers belonging to their Fleets. He ſays that whole Families had a Share in it, and that even rich Men receiv'd it, under the Name of their Slaves whom they had ſet at Liberty: And inſinuates that not only the Poor were admitted to it, but others alſo who kept Servants.

Lipſ. p. 171, & 172. *Fraudes etiam hic facta, multi enim ideo manumiſſi ut frumentum dominis ferrent à quibus facti erant liberi, &c. Igitur cenſendum eſt, pleroſque iſtorum qui caperent, Patres familias fuiſſe. Uxorem, Liberos, Servulos habuiſſe; annon probabiliter urbani illi omnes milites in conſortium hujus frumenti venerunt. Quidni etiam ipſa Aula & Palatini annonas ſuas hinc acceperint? Annon probabile eſt & Claſſiarios ipſos in Italia milites. Hi pauperes, aut ſaltem qui ſublevati gauderent, inter quos liberti, & id genus, maxime fuere.*

If all the Reaſons I have brought againſt their pretended Extent of the City, and Multitude of People in it, are not ſufficient to convince 'em, I ſhall bring the Authority of *Franceſco Bocchi*, who ſays, the *Roman* People were call'd

call'd indifferently Republick, City, the Thirty Five Tribes, and the Military Forces.

Vide *Francesco Bocchi*, Nel ſuo Trattato onde venne negli antichi ſecoli la ſmiſurata potenza di Roma, *pag.* 164. *Il Popolo Romano hora Reſpublica, hora Citta, hora col nome di* XXXV *Tribu, o di Bande militari era nominato.*

He ſays alſo, that the Tribes and the People of *Rome* were the ſame Thing.

Pag. 59. *Le Tribu & il Popolo Romano e una medeſima coſa.*

In another Place he ſays, that the People of *Rome* were very numerous, and did conſiſt in the Thirty One Ruſtick Tribes, who did live out of *Rome* in the Country, and in the Four *Urbane* Tribes within the Walls of the City.

Pag. 282. *Era adunque il Popolo Romano numeroſiſſimo, & habitava in* XXXI *Bande, o Tribu Ruſtiche fuori di Roma nel Contado, & in* IV *Tribu Urbane dentro delle Mura della Citta.*

He tells us afterwards, that the Luſtres or Reviews did comprehend only Men of Merit, fit for War, for Magiſtracy and Publick Government, and in a Word, the Citizens of Value. Hence 'tis that Authors ſpeak ſo differently of the Number of thoſe who were regiſtred, or paſs'd the Review: *Cenſa fuere Civium Romanorum* CL, CC, CCC *millia.* And

Pag. 284. *Il Cenſo adunque ſe ſi conſidera bene, non conteneva & non regiſtrava, ſe non huomini da fatti di ſtima & da Governi publichi, & da Magiſtrati, & da portar Arme, & da*

Travagliare in guerra, & Cittadini in ſomma di Valore. Perche gli Scrittori, variato il numero de gli huomini ſempre dicono. Cenſa fuere Civium Romanorum CL,CC,CCC millia. *Et ſecondo il numero piu & meno rigiſtrava la quantita che correva in quel anno. Dove ſi vede, che non erano, ſe non Cittadini quelli, i quali ſcritti erano nel cenſo; Ma chi non ſa che le Donne, i Fanciullini, i Bottegai, i Foreſtieri non erano in Roma, & non doveano eſſer riputati Cittadini,* &c.

according to the Number they found in that Year, more or leſs Men were regiſtred. Whereby 'tis plain, that they were only Citizens who were written in the Liſt; and every body knows that Women, Children, Shopkeepers, and Strangers in *Rome*, were not and ought not to have been reputed Citizens.

Pag. 243. *La Militia & la Civilita erano nel Contado di Roma. Huomo civile & Huomo da guerra era il medezimo. Il Soldato era Lavoratore di Terra.*

He ſays alſo, that the Militia and the Citizens were moſt in the Country about *Rome:* And that to ſay a Citizen or a Soldier was one and the ſame thing; as alſo that the Soldiers were Husbandmen, or Plowmen.

Pag. 270, 271. *Era grande il Popolo a diſmiſura della Republica di Roma, di cui parte habitava nella Cit-*

He tells us again, that the People of *Rome* were very numerous, and did partly live in the City, and partly in the Country, in Thirty Five Tribes about *Rome.* And that the City did not comprehend within its Walls

Walls an infinite Multitude of People, but that the People who did live without in the Country, and within the City, were very numerous.

ta, parte nel Contado in XXXV *Tribu intorno a Roma. La Citta non racchiudeva dentro del circuito de ſua Mura numero di gente infinito; il Popolo di Roma che habitava fuori nel contado & dentro della Citta, cotanto era grande per fare eſerciti,* &c.

And he likewiſe ſays, that the Bounds of the Country Tribes, who made Part of the City, did comprehend in ſome Places the Space of Sixty, in others of an Hundred Miles, all about *Rome:* From one Side as far as the River *Arno,* and from the other Side as far as the River *Garigliano.*

Pag. 268. *Intorno à Roma, d'una banda ſino al Arno, dall' altra ſino al Garigliano.*

In another Place he ſays, that the common People of the Town, ſuch as Taylors, Artizans, Shoemakers, Shop-keepers, Weavers, *&c.* were reputed vile, and were not admitted to ſerve in the War.

Pag. 148, & 160. *Militia Romana non ammetteva Bottegai, ne Artifici. La Plebe della Citta come marmaglia era ſtimata, inutile, e povera, come quella che era compoſta di Bottegai, & di Artifici, Calzolai, Teſſitori, & altri ſimili.*

Both *Voſſius* and *Lipſius* do ſay, but not prove, that there were Six Hundred Nations at *Rome*; but what

does that ſignifie, if it was true? I dare ſay that we could find as many more at *London*, underſtanding by a Nation ſome ſmall Tract of Land, ſuch as our Shires or Part of our Shires are, or Diſtricts: People might be apt to fancy, upon this, that every one of theſe pretended Nations at *Rome* were very numerous in People, or that they were Six Hundred Nations like *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, or *Germany*; but it may be, all the Foreigners in *Rome* did not amount to Thirty or Forty Thouſand People. We can ſee in *Lipſius* what capital Countries, or Nations, were under their Yoke, they did not amount to Forty, and among them ſome inconſiderable ones: I ſhall mention them afterwards. However, altho' we ſhould grant him that Number of Nations, they could not be every one of them very populous, when *Lipſius* fixes the Number of the Inhabitants at Four Millions, as we have ſeen.

What *Lipſius* ſays of the great Number of their Temples, that they had above Four Hundred Twenty Four, does not prove any thing neither: For 'tis uſual among Heathens, Papiſts,

piſts, and Mahometans, to have Abundance of Temples, even in Places which are not populous: Superſtition in that Point exceeds the true Religion: And yet we find that they had not many great Temples, but only abundance of Chappels, *Ædiculæ*, as *Publius Victor* calls them. *Georgius Fabritius* has made a great Liſt of their Temples, but for all that he cannot find that there were above 126 of ſome Note; and other Authors reckon only about 80, and few Baſiliques. Altho' we never drew any Argument for the Populouſneſs of *London*, from the Multitude of Churches, or Places of Divine Worſhip, yet I dare ſay we have above Two Hundred Churches in *London*, reckoning all thoſe of the Diſſenters and Foreigners, Jews and Papiſts. *Lipſius* uſes theſe Words, *Fuere Romæ* 424 *Templa pleraque ex his magnifica & aliter atque aliter ſtructa aut inſtructa*; that is, They had at *Rome* Four Hundred Twenty Four Temples that were magnificent, for the moſt part, and built or adorn'd differently. I wonder he does not reckon as many Temples as there were

were different Nations, beſides the Temples of the *Romans* themſelves; eſpecially conſidering what he ſays, That Six hundred Nations did inhabit the City, who had their ſpecial Rites, and the Worſhip us'd in their own Country. 'Tis true he adds, that their Religion was not publickly exercis'd, and commends the Piety of the *Romans* in that Point; for, ſays he, if they did admit any other Religion 'twas by the Oracle's Advice, and it was practis'd according to the *Roman* Faſhion, *Romano more culta*, by baniſhing from it all the naſty Vanities, or the prodigious Fables; *abdicatis fœdis Vanitatibus aut Fabularum portentis:* So that, by his Words, there were no naſty Opinions or Fables in the Religion of the *Romans*. How can a Learned Man ſpeak ſo, when he pretends to be a Chriſtian? This is a horrid Flattery to the *Romans:* But the Reaſon of his doing ſo was undoubtedly, becauſe he had embrac'd Popery, which is at leaſt as fooliſh and impious in its Worſhip as the Old *Romans* were, and has adopted many of their Follies; ſo that this is a kind of Apology for

Lipſ. p. 207. *600 Nationes pene in Urbem confluxerant, quibus ſingulis ſacra ſua Rituſque Patrii eſſent.*

for the Religion of Modern *Rome*. But, after all, it ſeems that their *Priapus* and their *Venus*, two of their Deities, were naſty and portentous enough!

Voſſius does alſo inſinuate to us, that a great many Foreign Nations did inhabit at *Rome*, and names amongſt 'em the *Britains*, or *Engliſh*: We may eaſily judge that the *Engliſh* were but few in Number there.

Voſſ. p. 18. *Ibi vivebant Cappadoces, Scythæ, Pontici, &c. In Tranſtiberino Judæi & Ægyptii.* Alibi *Catti, Germani, Daci, & Britanni.*

It may not be amiſs, upon this Subject, concerning the Populouſneſs of *Rome*, to ſhew how many empty Spaces there were in it, becauſe it confirms what we have ſaid of the Fewneſs of Houſes in it.

Of the empty Places in Old ROME.

We have prov'd ſufficiently, that Old *Rome* was not Thirteen Miles in Circumference, and it may be not Ten, conſidering the Sinuoſities of its Walls; and now I am to ſhew that there was above the Half of that Space empty.

It

It cannot be doubted, but that there were many empty Places upon the Hills of *Rome*, which were not full of Houses; altho' we must not conceive those Hills, as if they were very high and unaccessible, for they were inhabited, but not so well as the lower Parts of the Town. We know by History, and *Vossius* owns it, that about every one of those Hills the Augurs and other Priests order'd several empty Places to be left for their Processions, and to study the Flying of the Birds, whereby a great Profit did accrue to them, as I have already shewn, when speaking of the Extent. There were Seven Hills, with Three *Colles* among 'em, one call'd *Collis hortulorum*, because full of Gardens; *Vossius* himself owns that there were many empty Places, as we shall see elsewhere; the Two other little Hills were *Collis Vaticanus*, and *Janiculum*.

Lipsius owns also, that the Houses of the Nobility and great Men had very large Inclosures, and that within the City there was an innumerable Multitude of Country Houses; as also that their Temples, Basiliques,

ſiliques, Porches, Circus's, Market-places, Tribunals of Juſtice, *Fora*, Woods, Bathing-places, *&c.* did take up the greateſt Part of the Town. And indeed they had great Gardens, Vineyards, Orchards, Meadows, *&c.* in the City, which made the Streets to be few in Number, ſhort and ſinuous.

Olimpiodorus tells us, that every one of the great Houſes of *Rome* had within it ſelf whatever a Town of a middle Size can contain, *viz.* a Cirque, Portico's, Seats of Juſtice, Temples, Wells, and ſeveral Bathing places. And *Lipſius* adds, that there were One Thouſand Seven Hundred and Eighty Houſes of that ſort. The Houſes even of the Great Men being generally low, as we call now the Buildings *à la Romaine*, according to the Old *Roman* Faſhion, they muſt have been generally of a great Extent; eſpecially if we believe ſome fooliſh ancient Authors, and among them * *Athenæus*, who confidently ſays, that ſome of the *Romans* did keep Ten or Twenty Thouſand Servants, not to make any Profit of 'em by letting 'em out to work for others, but

Lipſ. p. 183. *Templa, Theatra, Baſilicæ, Porticus, Circi, Fora, Luci, Balnea, cætera publica, maximam partem Urbis occuparunt.*

Olimpiodorus quoted by *Lipſ.* p. 199. *Quæque magnarum Domuum omnia in ſeipſa habet, quæcunq; mediocris Urbs poſſit continere, nempe Circum, Fora, Templa, Fontes, Balnea diverſa,* &c. *Tales autem Domus in tota Urbe fuerunt* 1780.

* Lipſ. p. 176. *Athenæus affirmatè ſcribit, quoſdam Romanorum ad* 10 *aut* 20 *millia Servorum habuiſſe, nec ut quæſtum ex iis facerent ſed ut aſſeclas aut ſubſequas eos modo haberent.*

but only to be attended by 'em as they went along the Streets. Certainly thoſe Gentlemen muſt have had vaſt Houſes to lodge ſo great a Multitude of Servants and Lackeys. I queſtion whether all the Streets of *Rome*, being ſo narrow, had been capable of holding Forty Thouſand Men walking at once. I wonder that *Lipſius*, who quotes him, does not ridicule him: Inſtead of that, he ſays himſelf, that *Beliſarius*, who was the General of *Juſtinian*'s Armies, had Twelve Thouſand ſuch Servant-men or Slaves, who were his own. 'Tis true, he does not ſay that he kept them all at *Rome*, or that they did follow him in the Streets.

Lipſ. p. 178. *Beliſarius ille ſub Juſtiniano magnus, duodecim Millia Puerorum propria habuit.*

Voſſius tells us, that the Houſe of *Nero* had many treble Portico's, every one a Thouſand Paces long.

Voſſ. p. 23. *Domus Neronis plures Porticus triplices milliarias, id eſt ſingulas mille paſſuum continebat.*

* *Lipſius* ſays the ſame, and adds, that there was a great Pond like a Sea, ſurrounded all about with Houſes like a Town; beſides ſeveral Lands, Vineyards, Paſture-grounds and Woods, with a Multitude of Cattle, and wild Beaſts of all kinds, *&c.*

* Lipſ. p. 199. *In Domo Neronis Porticus triplices milliariæ, item Stagnum, Maris inſtar, circumſeptum Ædificiis & Paſcuis, ad Urbium ſpeciem. Rura inſuper, Arvis, atque Vinetis Sylviſque varia, cum multitudine omnis generis Pecudum* &c.

We

We have ſeen already the Expoſtulations of *Valerius* and *Seneca*, againſt the vaſt Compaſs of the Houſes of the *Romans*, for they had Palaces, ſay they, as big as Cities. Lipſ. p. 198. *Habebant Aulas æmulas Urbium.*

There were in the City about Nine Hundred Bathing-places for private Perſons, and One Thouſand Three Hundred Fifty great Ciſterns of Water, which they call'd Lakes, *Lacus*.

Their Thermes and publick hot Bathing-places were alſo very numerous, and ſome of them of an incredible Bigneſs, inſomuch that their Authors affirm, there were in ſome above Three Thouſand Cells ſeparated one from another, and that they were as large as Provinces, as already ſaid, which is a prodigious Hyperbole. Some did reckon Twenty, others Sixteen great publick Thermes, which had every one of 'em a ſpecial Aqueduct or Conduit of Water, and a great Baſon or Receptacle to preſerve and keep the Water, they call'd it *Caſtellum aquarum*; for the Inhabitants of *Rome* being a very idle People, and wearing little Linnen at that time, did waſh and bathe themſelves continually, Winter and Summer, now Lipſ. p. 192.

now in hot and then in cold Water.

Their Temples were alſo numerous; altho' ſome Authors mention only 11, ſome 19, and others 21 Baſiliques or ſtately Temples, but their other Temples, and the Chappels call'd *Ædiculæ*, were in great Numbers, as before ſaid, with Courts and Yards about 'em, and they were all iſled.

All the Houſes of the common People were alſo iſled, as I ſaid elſewhere. I ſuppoſe it was to prevent Fire from the next Houſes; that was ſo order'd by *Nero*, after he had burnt the City; *Ut Domus non communione parietum, ſed propriis quæque Muris ambirentur*, as the Authors ſay; that is, in order that every Houſe ſhould be encompaſs'd by its own Walls, and not by a common Wall.

Their Theatres, Amphitheatres, Cirques, Naumachia's, and Arena's, were all Places of a large Extent with great Incloſures; 'tis pretended that ſome of them could hold Two or Three Hundred Thouſand Souls all ſitting, but 'tis a Story. *Lipſius* ſays only about One Hundred Thouſand, ſome *Engliſh* Authors ſay Two Hundred

dred and Fifty Thouſand: There were Six or Seven Naumachia's, Eleven Amphitheatres, Seven Theatres, and Seven or Eight Cirques: All thoſe Places had their own ſpecial Diverſions, but ſometimes all ſorts of Plays were performed in every one of them, as *Pugiles* or Fighters at Handy-cuffs, *Curſores* or Runners, Gladiators, Wreſtlers, Hunters and Killers of wild Beaſts, Battles both of Foot and Horſe, and Sea-fights; as alſo *Ludi Tauriles* or Bull-fightings, *bigarum quadrigarumque Curſus*, or Races of Carts with Two or Four Horſes, as alſo Comedies or Plays, Buffoons, Merryandrews, Dancing, Rope-dancing, Conſorts of Muſick, *&c.* All their publick Places and Buildings had ſome *Area* about 'em, that is, a Court or Yard.

They had a good Number of *Luci* or Boſcages conſecrated to their Gods, to the Number of Thirty Two, and beſides ſeveral other Woods and Groves; they had alſo ſeveral Places called *Sylvæ*, *Pagi*, *Villæ publicæ*.

Some do reckon Ten *Curiæ*, Courts of Juſtice, Places of Greeting, and for their Political Councils and pub-

lick business of Law. Authors mention also Four Places call'd *Senatula*, where the Magistrates and Senate did meet. Note that *Lipsius*, pag. 190. does not mention any more *Fora publica in quibus Res & Lites agebantur*, Places for publick Business, than Five, *viz. Forum Romanum*, *Forum Julii*, *Forum Augusti*, *Forum Nervæ*, *Forum Trajani*, and Ten Market-places, among which there was a great Slaughter-house or *Carnificina*.

Some reckon in all Nineteen *Fora*, others Seventeen, others only Eleven.

They had several Places called *Stadia*, *Odea*, *Xisti* or *Xista*, *Rostra*; in some of which they performed their Horse and Mens Races, such were *Stadia*, altho' no body can say where they were; in the *Odea* the Musicians and Actors of the Stage did exercise themselves before they came on the Stage; the *Xisti* were some Portico's, which did serve to the Wrestlers; the *Rostra*, I suppose, did serve the young Advocates and Rhetoricians to exercise themselves in, before they durst appear in the Courts of Justice or other Assemblies.

Authors

Authors ſay there were Four *Odæa* in the Town.

There were Two Coloſſes, as alſo Two *Columnæ Cochlides*.

All their Conduits or Aqueducts, Obelisks, Pyramids, Columns, triumphal Arches, and Statues, had every one of them an empty Space before it, for the Spectators to conſider of them.

They had alſo a great many Statues in the Streets, which did encumber them, but the Emperor *Claudius* order'd part of them to be remov'd.

They had ſeveral publick Walks in the Town.

There were ſome *Hippodromus*, where they did exerciſe their Horſes, as *Hippodromus Aureliana*, &c.

Some Learned Men had great and fine Houſes, Gardens and Orchards in the Town, as *Lucanus*, *Saluſtius*, *Ovidius*, *Terentius*, *Seneca*, &c. *Horti & Circus Saluſtii*, *Domus Laterani*, *Horti Mæcenatis*, *Horti Getæ*, *Horti Cæſaris*, *Armiluſtrum*.

They had alſo many fine Mauſoleums in the Town, which were all incloſed and iſled with Courts or Yards about them, but the moſt part of their *Mauſoleums* were without

the Gates of the City, on the Sides of the High-wayſ.

There were ſeveral Places diſtant from Temples which were call'd Altars, as *Ara Mercurii*, *Ara Jovis*, &c. as alſo Thirty Four *Jani*, or Figures of *Janus*, in all the Parts of the Town.

Authors tell us alſo that under the Emperors there were Twenty Eight publick Libraries, (ſome ſay only Nineteen) Six great Obelisks, and Forty Two little Ones.

They had Two Capitols, the Old and the new; and Thirty Six Triumphal Arches of Marble.

In ſeveral Corners of the Town they had ſome great Figures of Horſes, ſome of Braſs gilded over, *Equi ænei inaurati*, Twenty Four in number, ſome ſay Eighty Four; ſome of Ivory, *Equi eburnei*, Ninety Four in number, ſome ſay One Hundred Twenty Four; and ſome call'd *Equi magni*, or great Horſes, Twenty Three in number.

They had, beſides their Cirques and Theatres, ſeveral other Places for their Gladiators, ſuch as were called *Ludus Mamertinus*, *Ludus magnus*,

nus, *Ludus Dacicus*, *Ludus Æmilius*, *Ludus Gallicus*, *Ludus Matutinus*, &c.

Several Places call'd *Nymphæa*, to the Number of Fifteen; *Piſcinæ publicæ*; I doubt theſe laſt were ſome Ponds to learn Swimming; the *Nymphæa* were ſome publick Houſes for Feaſtings, as in Weddings, *&c.*

Some alſo reckon Twenty, others Twenty Four Waters, *Aquæ*; all which were Conduits of Water.

There were Two *Septizoniums Severi*, and One of *Titus*. There was *Moles Trajani*, *Moles Adriani*, as Two great and ſtately Caſtles with Piazza's about them.

Pliny reckon'd, as we have already ſaid, Two Hundred and Thirteen Streets, *Panvinius* does not reckon above Two Hundred Ten, *Victor* Four Hundred Twenty Four.

Theſe Two laſt reckon'd Eleven Caſtra or Camps, and Seventeen Fields.

Panvinius ſpeaks of 329 Ovens, as I ſaid before.

Olympiodorus ſays that there were 46602 Iſlands, or ſmall Houſes in *Rome*, to which *Victor* agrees; but

Panvinius ſays only Forty One Thouſand and ſome Hundreds. *Lipſius* owns that there were no more than 46602, as already ſaid.

'Tis thought that the Number of Houſes diminiſh'd after *Nero*'s burning of the City, becauſe they made of ſeveral ſmall Houſes but One, wherein ſeveral Families liv'd upon the Ground-floor.

Tacitus tells us that the whole City was not burnt, but only part of it: *Rome*, ſays he, is divided into Fourteen Parts call'd Regions, Four were left intire, Three quite deſtroy'd, and as for the other Seven, there were but few Houſes left, all ſhatter'd and half burnt.

Quippe in Regiones 14 Roma dividitur, quarum quatuor integra manebant, tres ſolo tenus dejecta, ſeptem reliquis pauca tectorum veſtigia ſuperant lacera & ſemiuſta.

Their *Horrea* or Granaries for Corn did alſo take up a great Room, they were numerous. I believe there was One in almoſt every Street, to the number of 276; they were alſo ordered to keep things depoſited.

I ſpoke already of their Mills, they were alſo very numerous, ſince there were ſome in all the Parts of the Town, proportionably to the Numbers of the People.

There

There are many other Places mention'd in Hiſtory whereof no account can be given, as are theſe, *Scholæ*, *Lavacrum Agrippinæ*, *Thermæ Notati*, *Nymphæum Alexandri*, *Severi Septa*, *Agrippinæ Crypta*, *Balbi ſepta*, *Carceres*, *Stadium*, *Stagnum Agrippæ*, *Prata Flaminia*, *Buxeta*, *Sylva Cæſaris*, *Auguratorium*, *Prata Bacchi*.

Their *Campus Martius* muſt needs have been a very large Place, ſince their Authors tell us that Three or Four Hundred Thouſand Men have been muſter'd there at a time, *viz.* all the Men fit for Soldiers in the Thirty Five Tribes; every Tribe was divided there into its Centuries both of Horſe and Foot, and every Century was divided from the other by a little Incloſure call'd *Septum* or *Ovile*, from whence every Man was muſter'd one after another, being examined by the Cenſors, who queſtion'd 'em about their Fortune and Eſtate, the Number of their Family, their Horſes and Arms, their Age, their Services: That Place muſt certainly have been very large.

Beſides that Field of *Mars*, or *Campus Martius*, whereon the Popes have ſince built what they call *Leonina Urbs*, by the Name of one *Leon* who began it, there were ſeveral others empty and without Buildings, to the number of about Twenty, *viz.* *Campus Horatiorum*, *Ridiculi*, *Vulcani*, *Jovis*, *Licinii*, *Campus Sceleratus*, where the Criminals were puniſhed, *Campus Martialis*, *Eſquilinus*, *Brytianus*, *Codetanus*, *Octavius*, *Fecuarius*, *Lanatarius*, *Viminalis*, *Agrippæ*, *Vaticanus*, *Figulinus*, *Agonius*, *Floræ*, *Trigeminorum*, *Cœlimontanus*, *Furinarum*, and ſome others.

There were alſo, beſides the Fields, Ten or Eleven Places, called *Caſtra* or Camps, as *Caſtra Miſenatium*, *Caſtra Lecticariorum*, *Caſtra Peregrina*, *Caſtra Vittimariorum*, *Caſtra Gyptiana*, *Caſtra Salgamatiorum*, *Caſtra Vetera*, *Caſtra Silicariorum*, *Caſtra Tabellariorum*, *Caſtra Prætoria*, *Caſtra Equitum ſingulorum*, &c.

Some ancient Authors tell us that there were Twenty Gates, others ſay Thirty, or Thirty Four, or Thirty Seven.

Some

Some reckon Twenty Nine High-ways, others more.

Some reckon Seven Bridges, others Eight. As alſo 734 Towers about the Walls of the Town for its Defence. But theſe three laſt Articles do not concern our Subject, which is the *Vacuum* or Emptineſs of Old *Rome*.

So that we may eaſily perceive *Rome* was not very full of Houſes.

But before I leave this Head I muſt take notice that ſome think the Forty Five Stews or Bawdy-houſes, *Lupanaria*, were alſo Publick Buildings, becauſe thoſe Authors mention them as well as the publick Latrines or Houſes of Office, otherwiſe they ſay it was impoſſible to know preciſely all the private Houſes that were ſuch; and that it ſeems they ſhould have been in greater Number, becauſe they are more numerous among us. I ſhall not pretend to decide this Point, altho' I believe the *Romans* were a great deal chaſter than we are, for ſeveral Reaſons. Firſt, Becauſe the Diſcipline was more exact among them. Secondly, Their People were oblig'd to marry by their Laws, I mean

mean the Men, and thoſe who were ſo were ſooner admitted to Preferment than others; and I find that unmarry'd Men, and even Soldiers, were caſhier'd at the time of the *Cenſus* or Review. Now the better ſort of the People did all profeſs the Military Art, tho' they were able to exerciſe all ſorts of Civil Affairs alſo. Thirdly, They did not feed ſo high as we do, being more frugal and ſober. Fourthly, They were not ſo eaſie or rich. Fifthly, I find in their Authors that Men could kill their Wives when drunk or taken in Adultery, or when they had robbed 'em; ſo that to be ſure thoſe Women took great Precaution, *Si non caſtæ ſaltem cautæ*; and as for the Free-born unmarry'd Women, which we call Maids, they put 'em to Death when guilty of Whoring; or at leaſt it was a Maxim amongſt 'em that they deſerv'd it, as we ſee by *Horatius*, ſaying *Virginum culpæ levis una mors eſt*, that is to ſay, Death is too little a Puniſhment for a Free-born Maid who commits Fornication. Sixthly, We have ſeen that they did not allow Women of honeſt Families to converſe

verſe with Men, and there was a Law againſt it; and I believe that thoſe Forty Five Bawdy-houſes were only of Female Slaves, and were tolerated only for the uſe of Men Slaves, of the worſt ſort of Men. We find in *Horace* ſeveral Names of ſuch lewd Women, whereof he takes notice; they were Slaves for the moſt part, thoſe *Lydias*, *Licias*, *Chloes*, *Pholoes*, *Amarillis*, *Barines*, *Lalages*, *Phillides*, *Glyceras*, &c. were all Slaves; *Serva Bryſeis niveo colore movit Achillem.* But I will not be too poſitive in that matter, and ſhall not oppoſe but that theſe Forty Five Bawdy-houſes have been as big and as full of Women as the Popiſh Nunneries are. Seventhly, I read alſo in their Authors, that when One of their Veſtals, who were but Six in number, had been found in fault in that reſpect, ſhe was by the Law burned alive.

If any one ask where thoſe Three or Four Hundred Thouſand Men did lodge at the time of their Luſtres or Reviews, if there were but about Fifty Thouſand Houſes, I anſwer, This Objection is no more againſt me,

me, than againſt their own Authors, who were contemporary, and ſay that there were no more Houſes than I ſaid, and no more Streets, which is alſo believ'd by their modern Authors, as *Nardini*, *Bocchi*, and *Lipſius*. The ſame Queſtion may be raiſed againſt the modern Relations concerning the Carnaval of *Venice*, at which time there is a prodigious Concourſe of People from all Parts; but eſpecially againſt what is generally reported of Modern *Rome*, which perhaps has not the half or the third part of the Houſes the Old had. It was publiſh'd by all the News Papers not long ago, that there were in the time of their Spiritual Fair or Jubilee about a Hundred and Fifty Thouſand Strangers; ſo that I may ask in my turn, Where did all thoſe Men lodge? And I have ſo much the more Reaſon to ask it, becauſe theſe did lye in Houſes and Beds, whereas Soldiers did lye under the Sky, *ſub dio*, generally, and thoſe *Luſtra* or *Cenſus* were made in Summer, ſo that undoubtedly they did for the moſt part lye in the Fields, either in the City or out of it, and appeared in the Camp

Camp of *Mars* at the appointed time; they us'd Tents then as we do, and theſe *Luſtres* did hold only once in Five Years, ſo that great Preparations no doubt were made for them againſt that time, as we do in our Fairs, and as is done at *Rome* for their Jubilee.

We have ſeen alſo that there were many other empty Fields in *Rome*, wherein thoſe Soldiers might encamp under their Tents.

What is ſaid concerning their Luſtres, holds alſo as to their *Comitia*, either *Tributa*, or *Curiata*, or *Centuriata*, which were an Aſſembly or Meeting of all the States of their Thirty Five Tribes, or only of the Senators, or of ſome of their Centuries; thoſe Aſſemblies were nothing near ſo numerous as the Meeting of the Soldiers at their Luſtres, ſo that they could eaſily find Lodgings in *Rome*.

One thing did hinder a great many People from coming to *Rome* to ſee the fine Plays and Shews, which is, that they did imitate them in the Provinces, where they had alſo their Theatres, Cirques and Gladiators, and all

all the other Spectacles, tho' not ſo magnificent as at *Rome*.

HERE follows an Epitome of Old *Rome*, taken out of *Publius Victor*, *Panvinius*, and other Authors.

Regio I.

Vici 10.
Ædiculæ 10.
Vicomagiſtri 48.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ tria millia 250.
Domus 250.
Horrea 12.
Balnea 86.
Lacus 84.
Piſtrina 20.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12272.

Regio II.

Vici 6.
Ædiculæ 7.
Vicomagiſtri 48.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 3600.
Domus 124.
Horrea 14.
Balnea 32.
Lacus 42.

Pi-

Piſtrina 12.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12300.

Regio III.

Vici 12.
Ædiculæ 12.
Vicomagiſtri 49.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 2757.
Domus 60.
Horrea 14.
Balnea 80.
Lacus 65.
Piſtrina 16.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12950.

Regio IV.

Vici 8.
Ædiculæ 8.
Vicomagiſtri 48.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 2757.
Domus 88.
Horrea 18.
Balnea 75.
Lacus 86.
Piſtrina 12.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 13000;
alias 14000.

Re-

Regio V.

Vici 19.
Ædiculæ 15.
Vicomagiſtri 40.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 3850.
Domus 180.
Horrea 22.
Balnea 75.
Lacus 74.
Piſtrina 19.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 15900.

Regio VI.

Vici 17.
Ædiculæ 17.
Vicomagiſtri 18.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 3043.
Domus 146.
Horrea 17.
Balnea 85.
Lacus 72.
Piſtrina 16.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 15600.

Regio VII.

Vici 15.
Ædiculæ 15.
Vicomagiſtri 40.

Cu-

Curatores 2.
Insulæ 3085.
Domus 130.
Horrea 25.
Balnea 75.
Lacus 76.
Pistrina 15.
Regio continet in Circuitu Pedes 13700

Regio VIII.

Vici 34.
Ædiculæ 29.
Vicomagistri 46.
Curatores 2.
Insulæ 3880.
Domus 13.
Horrea 18.
Balnea 83.
Lacus 120.
Pistrina 20.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 12877.

Regio IX.

Vici 35.
Ædiculæ 31.
Vicomagistri 48.
Curatores 2.
Insulæ 2774.
Domus 120.
Horrea 22.

Balnea 65.
Lacus 63.
Piſtrina 20.
Regio habet in Ambitu Pedes 30500.

Regio X.

Vici 20.
Ædiculæ 20.
Vicomagiſtri 40.
Curatores 12.
Inſulæ 2504.
Domus 88.
Horrea 40.
Balnea 14.
Lacus 89.
Piſtrina 20.
Regio in Ambitu continet Pedes 11600, *alias* 12600.

Regio XI.

Vici 18.
Ædiculæ 19.
Vicomagiſtri 19.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 2600.
Domus 80.
Horrea 16.
Balnea 15.
Lacus 20.
Piſtrina 15.

Regio

Regio XII.

Vici 14.
Ædiculæ 17.
Vicomagiſtri 49.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 2487.
Domus 114.
Horrea 17.
Balnea 63.
Lacus 81.
Piſtrina 20.
Regio habet in Ambitu Pedes 12000.

Regio XIII.

Vici 18.
Ædiculæ 17.
Vicomagiſtri 48.
Curatores 2.
Inſulæ 2487.
Domus 130.
Horrea 25.
Balnea 64.
Lacus 88.
Piſtrina 20.
Continet Pedes in Ambitu 16200.

Regio XIV.

Vici 78.
Ædiculæ 78.
Vicomagiſtri 48.
Curatores 3.

Insulæ 4405.
Domus 150.
Horrea 22.
Balnea 86.
Lacus 80.
Pistrina 23.
Regio in Ambitu habet Pedes 36438.

So that 'tis plain by this Epitome of Old *Rome*, and by all the Reasons before alledged, that Old *Rome* could not be so populous as *Lipsius*, *Vossius*, and many other Authors would have it; and that *London* does much surpass it both in Extent and Multitude of People, *&c.*

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAGE 18. Line 19. for *Meotis*, read *Mareotis*. p. 118. l. 21. f. *Montferrat*, r. *Piemont*. p. 56. l. 9. and 10. for *Eight or Nine*, r. *Eleven or Twelve* p. 58. l. 13. and 19. Dele *or Flaminia*. p. 82. in the Margen. f. *Tempore*. r. *Tempora*. p. 85. l. 1. after *another* add *Supported by several Rows of Columns*. p. 129. l. 29. f. *Greeting*, r. *Meeting*. p. 133. l. 13. and 14. f. *Severi*, r. *One of Severus*. p. 135. l. 5. f. *Notat* r. *Novati*.